The Outlook

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New England

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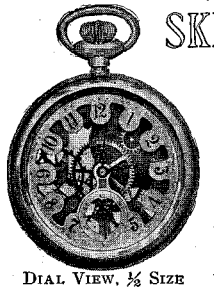

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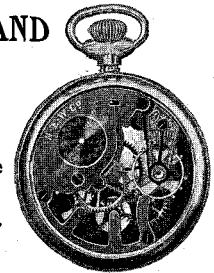

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Chief of Fire Department Gives Warning to Citizens.

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1905

The Massacre in St. Petersburg

Hundreds of people were shot down or cut down by sabers in the streets of St. Petersburg on Sunday last. They were in part striking workingmen who wished to present their grievances to the Czar in person; in part disaffected persons (Socialists, revolutionists, or Constitutionalists) who seized this opportunity for a political demonstration; in part, as is always the case with street fighting or rioting, curiosity-seekers and mere bystanders, among them many women and some children. There is reason to suspect that the Government, under the influence of the bureaucracy, deliberately allowed the industrial disturbances to grow in strength and organized power until a favorable moment should come for striking, through Cossacks and Imperial Guards, a blow the cruelty and bloodiness of which might long inspire terror. Observers on the spot, however, think that this effect may be more than counteracted by the fact that tens of thousands have through this tragic and ominous act lost their childlike faith in the Czar as the righter of wrongs and the father of his people. While the conflict on Sunday was the outcome of an agitation which was originally industrial, it soon assumed larger aspects. The bare fact that men working in part on ship-building for the Russian navy should dare to drop their tools and walk out is an important symptom of the general political and social upheaval in Russia. The men's grievances were both as to hours and wages; it is admitted that eleven hours is the ordinary working day in Russian shops, while in pay and manner of life the Russian mechanic's conditions are greatly inferior to those of his fellows in other lands. From one industry the strike spread to another, and the plan of a direct appeal to the Czar was mooted. One man, Father Gopon, a fiery orator, an orthodox priest without a church, soon became the leading figure in the agitation, and the real significance of this strike is seen when one reads that even in one of the earlier public meetings Gopon not only demanded radical industrial changes, but also formulated a demand that the Japanese war be stopped, that a constitutional assembly be summoned, that free speech and the liberty of the press be granted, and that political prisoners be released. Before the end of last week demands for larger privileges—civil, political, and industrial—were heard from every side. Demonstrations and processions were frequent both in St. Petersburg and in several industrial centers. The police and military seemed almost lethargic; now it is evident that they wished the disturbance "to come to a head" before dealing with it.

❀

A Deliberate Slaughter

On Sunday crowds gathered on the famous Nevsky Prospect and especially at its juncture with the Grand Morskaia, another of the great avenues of St. Petersburg, in Palace Square, and elsewhere. With few exceptions, there were no arms among these people, and they were as helpless against the soldiers as a mob of school-children might be. A proclamation addressed to the Czar by Father Gopon reads as follows:

> Sovereign: I fear your Ministers have not told you the full truth about the situation. The whole people, trusting in you, have resolved to appear at the Winter Palace at 2 P.M. in order to inform you of their needs. If, vacillating, you do not appear before the people then, the moral bonds between you and the people who trust in you will disappear, because innocent blood will flow between you and the people. Appear to-morrow before your people and receive our address of devotion in a courageous spirit.

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I and the representatives of labor and my brave workingmen and comrades guarantee the inviolability of your person.

The procession of eight or ten thousand workmen, headed by Father Gopon in gold-bedecked vestments, bearing aloft an ikon and with religious banners on either side, was stopped and ordered to retire when the men reached the Neva Gate. The priest-leader announced that they were going peaceably to present a petition to the Czar and gave the order to advance. A volley of blank cartridges did not stop this forward movement, and then volley after volley of bullets was poured into the ranks of the helpless and unarmed petitioners until, as the cable despatches describe the scene, the road became a shambles. This frightful blow was followed by charges on the crowds of sympathizers and onlookers at the places named above, all in the vicinity of the Winter Palace. The accounts agree that these crowds, apart from hooting and jeering, committed no overt acts until after they had been fired upon or charged by the Cossacks. The attacks were made after very brief and inadequate warning to disperse; and the volleys and saber-charges were instantly productive of frightful carnage. Later on smaller mobs in various quarters raised barricades and committed some acts of violence, including, it is said, the killing of a general and injury to other officers. No concerted or extensive attempt at pillage or fire occurred. The strikers had hoped that the soldiers would refuse to fire on them and would perhaps join them, but the Russian Government is careful to keep in the great cities troops from distant places who have no close personal relations with the common people and little sympathy for them. One regiment, the Moscow Guards, refused to fire on the people; two others are said to have shown disaffection. Sunday night saw St. Petersburg under martial rule, with troops bivouacking in central places everywhere, and with the populace sullen and filled with rage, but totally unsupplied with the arms or organization that could make revolution conceivably possible of success against rapid-fire guns, repeating rifles, and trained cavalry. The leader, Father Gopon, was unhurt; neither has he been seized as a prisoner at the time we write. Official reports state that seventy-six men were killed and two hundred and thirty-three wounded; but these figures are generally believed to be a deliberate understatement. The Czar has been reported to be at Tsarkoe Selo, some distance from the scene of trouble, but other reports assert that he is still in the Winter Palace, and is completely prostrated by grief. One cabled account of the events of Sunday closes with the words: "In the heart of the people a cry never heard in St. Petersburg before is raised to-night by an incensed and outraged city. This is, 'Down with the Czar; down with the monarchy!'"

❀

The Czar in Danger

The dramatic and terrible events of Sunday in St. Petersburg threw into comparative insignificance the incident of Thursday, when the Czar's life was in imminent danger. While the Russian authorities have been reticent about the matter, it is officially stated that the affair was purely an accident. At the time of its occurrence it was variously interpreted outside of Russia as an accident, a plot for assassination formed by revolutionaries, and a similar plot formed by reactionaries—and in favor of the last theory, which at first sight seems absurd, it was argued that the opportunity would be greater for reactionaries than for revolutionaries to carry on a plot in the army, and that the assassination of Alexander II., usually attributed to the Nihilists, is quite generally in Russia believed to have been the work of the nobles. At all events, the facts are that while the Czar was attending the annual ceremony of blessing the waters of the Neva, a loaded shell was fired from one of the guns of the saluting battery directly at the building in which the Czar was at the moment, so that the shrapnel missiles passed directly over the altar where the Czar had been standing, perforating the building in many places and fatally wounding one of the Czar's guards. A report was published shortly after that the officers responsible for the handling of the battery involved had committed suicide.

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The Czar is said to have shown the utmost coolness and to have been in no wise disturbed by the accident—if accident it was.

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The Administrative Entity of China

A fortnight ago the Russian Foreign Office sent a circular-note to the Powers complaining that China had failed to perform the duties of a neutral, and that Russia consequently holds as no longer binding her promise to respect Chinese neutrality. We have already itemized the specifications as to alleged Chinese violations. Last week the Russian Ambassador at Washington presented to the American Government a repetition of the complaint, but in somewhat stronger language. The second note was perhaps due to the activity of the American Secretary of State. As rumors had obtained credence recently that some of the Powers contemplated an extension of their present territorial possessions in the Far East at the termination of the present armed conflict, in order to maintain what they called "the balance of power," Mr. Hay sent out an identical note to the Powers, asking them to reiterate their previous pledges to respect the administrative entity of China, to adhere to the principle of the open door, and to seek no special advantages from the Chinese Government without the knowledge of all other nations concerned in the Chinese question. Mr. Hay not only succeeded in securing a repetition of the previous satisfactory assurances from all the Powers save Russia and Japan, but in most cases the responses were more emphatic than heretofore in declaring American policy toward China to be sound and wise. It is understood also that the Japanese Government is in general sympathy with our own. The announcement of these replies lent great force to Mr. Hay's assurance to the Russian Government that an inquiry would be made by America of China concerning violations of neutrality. The inquiry was promptly made.

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Russia and China

From the foregoing Russia may well surmise that neither Russia nor Japan will be permitted by the Powers to determine whether China has violated neutrality; such a question can be decided only by the Powers not involved in the present war. The latter are presumably more disinterested than are Russia and Japan. Hence, pending such a collective decision, the inference (and, we hope, the warning) is that Russia should not attack China. While Mr. Hay's inquiry may have possibly checked any new scheme looking toward the partition of China, and while the Powers are once again pledged in black and white to maintain China's territorial and political integrity, it must be admitted that Russia has had a chance of invading China in a part of the world where she has apparently long controlled the situation—namely, in the great northwest Chinese province of Kashgaria, or Chinese Turkestan. It might even be possible for Russia to occupy this province for a short period and to hold the news of that occupation from the outside world. Russia's charges against China may be a forerunner of such an announcement, of Russian aggression elsewhere in China, of an attempted embroilment of the Powers in the war, or, lastly, even of a preparation for peace, and incidentally a saving of "face." Hence Russia's repetition of the complaint of a week ago is not altogether surprising. The question as to whether China has failed in her duty as a neutral or not is still the subject of diplomatic consideration, and has by no means reached the concluding stage. When the facts are all known, we believe that Americans will take even greater satisfaction than they have in reviewing the whole course of Mr. Hay's policy toward China, from the beginning of his tenure of office, when he saved the Empire from disruption before and during the Boxer atrocities, to the present time, when he is endeavoring to save it from a more powerful and subtle peril.

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The Russian Budget

The past fortnight has been notable in the history of Russian finance; it has witnessed the publication of the annual budget and the German subscription of a long-term Russian loan of about a hundred million dollars. A legitimate deduction

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from the figures of the budget is that the present war has had little effect on commercial activity. The Russian monetary system seems to remain steady, for the price of the ruble has not changed. Russia has of course been helped by the splendid harvest of 1904, which was over six per cent in excess even of the harvest of 1902, which had exceeded the average for the last ten years by over a quarter. The new taxes on alcohol and cotton and the increased fares on the State railways have also benefited the Russian treasury. Back of all this, however, lies the main cause of whatever financial prosperity Russia now enjoys, the end of the régime of paper money and the adoption of the gold standard. This reform is due to one man, Sergius Witte, the resourceful Minister of Finance, who has risen from the position of railway employee to one of the most powerful places in the world. Even before the price of paper was definitely fixed in gold, the Minister accustomed the Russian public to the gold standard. He accomplished this first by the State bank's gradual assumption of the duty of cashing paper money in gold on demand at the rate of one ruble in gold to one and a half in paper. But the Minister also worked from the outside by strengthening Russia's internal resources through railway building and the institution of a great system of manufactures. These things required the placing of additional loans. This was not altogether difficult, since the desire of France to escape from isolation had led to the Russo-French alliance, and the price paid by France for that privilege has now reached over a billion six hundred million dollars, of which over a hundred and fifty million dollars have been taken since the opening of the present war. As the prospect of securing additional loans in France is not as flattering as it has been, it was decided that the next war loan should be floated in Germany, if possible. The conditions of this loan were determined last summer by Minister Witte and Count von Bülow, German Imperial Chancellor. A heavy price was paid by Russia, namely, the admittance of German products on hitherto unheard of terms. It has been an easy thing, therefore, for German manufacturers in their delight to subscribe to a loan which probably represents but a small part of their profits in the whole transaction. Aside from this, however, the Germans have good cause for knowing intimately about Russia's potential economic power, for they have instituted and officered most of the recent Russian industries. Let us hope that they have also discounted the deficit in the extraordinary expenditures occasioned by the present crisis both in the Far East and at home. If the domestic uprisings of the past few days were to render probable the downfall of the Government, the result would probably be a panic in Russian securities and a strain upon the money market everywhere.

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The Strike in Germany

Over two hundred thousand men have gone out in the German coal mining districts, and more are striking daily, because, as they claim, of reduction in wages, increase in hours of labor, and unfairness in weighing the product of their labor—precisely the grievances alleged in the great anthracite strike in this country. Oppressive and humiliating personal treatment is also charged, an illustration being that miners must stand at attention and click their heels together whenever an overseer appears—an amusing development of the German military spirit. But back of these grievances is the fact that the owners of these mines are united in what would be called here a trust, and that by their attempts at monopoly they have even antagonized the Government, which is a large buyer of coal for the State-owned railways. Accordingly, the Government has tried to obtain ownership of some of the mines in this district, as it does elsewhere, but without success. These facts, and the refusal of these mine-owners in the Rhenish-Westphalian country to sell to the large associations of farmers at reasonable rates, together with the restriction of output of coal in order to keep up prices, have created a strong popular feeling against the owners and equal sympathy with the strikers, who

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thus far have conducted themselves in an orderly manner, although noisy crowds of strikers have been dispersed with force by the police. It is thought probable that the Emperor may use his personal influence to settle the matter, and Chancellor von Bülow has affirmed that the Government's two duties toward the strike were to preserve order and assist in a settlement, so as to save German industry from a great calamity.

❀

Trade and Finance in Mexico

The report of Mr. James Russell Parsons, Jr., our Consul-General at the City of Mexico, shows that trade between this country and Mexico is not progressing as much as has been supposed. While Mexico's imports for the fiscal year 1903–4 showed an increase over the preceding fiscal year of nearly four per cent., the increase in the value of the goods imported from this country was less than one per cent., and did not equal the amount imported by Mexico from us in 1901–2, the highest figure yet reached. As to exports, while Mexico gained nearly two per cent. on the total, the percentage to the United States was actually slightly less than during the last fiscal year, and very much less than during the fiscal year 1901–2. Despite their splendid progress in the decade from 1891–2 to 1901–2, it would seem as if our traders should bestir themselves more than ever unless they wish the cleverer methods of Germany to prevail in Mexico as they have prevailed further south. Mr. Parsons sensibly advises our merchants that they can enlarge American trade with Mexico if they will issue their catalogues in Spanish, see that they are placed in the hands of merchants interested in their wares, send agents to Mexico at least once a year, and advertise in reliable journals. The main feature of Mr. Parsons's report is naturally a consideration of the gratifying reform which is now taking place in standardizing the value of the Mexican peso at fifty cents gold. Owing to the enormous amount of Mexican coin in foreign countries, where it has been accepted at its bullion value, an act was recently passed by the Mexican Congress levying a duty on the reimportation of such coin—this to prohibit the great influx of pesos which otherwise would follow their appreciation in value. This item in the Government bill has been ratified, the remainder being still before the Senate. Finance Minister Limantour states that a gold reserve of forty million dollars may be necessary to take care of the increase in value of the Mexican dollar. The successful floating of a Mexican loan for an equal sum in New York two months ago was doubtless a part of the plan. The excess in the estimate of revenue over expenditure will, it is said, be used to make amends for the reduction in mining taxes. In view of the fact that Mexico possesses undeveloped resources of a peculiarly remunerative nature, such a reduction ought to stimulate the exploitation of these resources.

❀

The Moroccan Situation

By the Anglo-French agreement of April, 1904, England is now supreme in Northeast and France in Northwest Africa. No colonial Power has ever done more to civilize a great region than England has done during the past twenty years to civilize Egypt and the Sudan, nor could France have a better example to follow in a similar attempt throughout Northwest Africa. Possessing Algiers, controlling Tunis, and now including Morocco in her sphere of influence, France has an opportunity of founding an African empire of contiguous States such as is not possessed even by England herself. For behind the Algerian Hinterland lie the vast regions of Senegal, the Sahara, the French Sudan, and the French Congo. This territory has not only the advantage of solidarity, but is also in area greater than that possessed by England in Africa, no matter how advantageous the English possessions may be. France has disavowed any intention of interfering with the sovereign rights of the Sultan of Morocco; she has been represented at Fez by a Minister, as England and Italy have been. The lately increased possibilities of trade with the Moroccan interior will doubtless cause the United States also to send its agent to Fez. Taking

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advantage of the temporary absence of the English and Italian representatives, the Sultan Mulai-Abdel Aziz recently dismissed the French representative without warning, thus creating a decidedly strained situation, which last week was happily changed by that monarch's permission to the French Minister, accompanied by a French military guard, to return to the capital. On the borderland between Algiers and Morocco the French have had abundant opportunity to institute punitive expeditions, but it is questionable whether this temptation or another high-handed proceeding in the capital itself would induce them to begin any armed conflict. Owing to the mountainous nature of the country and the fanatical nature of the inhabitants, such a conflict would apparently be a prolonged one, involving not only many lives and much treasure, but that which is dearest to Frenchmen—their national prestige. When France can see its way clearly to an early augmentation of that prestige, the Sultan of Morocco may well tremble, but that day has hardly yet dawned.

❀

Cabinet Changes in France

The retirement of the Cabinet of M. Combes cannot be regarded in any sense as a crisis. It is one of the hopeful indications of the growth of the habit of self-government in France that Cabinet crises are becoming fewer as time goes on and that changes of Government no longer involve radical changes of policy. M. Combes retires with a majority in the Chamber of Deputies. That majority has dwindled to ten, but the probability is that on any question affecting the main lines of his policy it would be practically as large as ever. It was chiefly the irritation caused by the discovery of the extent to which espionage has been carried on in the army that reduced the numbers of his supporters. By retiring with a majority behind him in the Chamber of Deputies M. Combes may secure the continuity of his policy and the selection of a successor in sympathy with the main objects he has had in view. In any case the detective work in the army and the departments will, it is now promised, be discontinued; it ought to have been stopped long ago, for it was thoroughly undignified and demoralizing in its results. There was provocation for it in the outrageous conduct of many army officers during the height of the excitement over the Dreyfus case, but there was and there could be no justification, in a free community, under a popular Government, for the application of the spy system. M. Combes continued the policy of M. Waldeck-Rousseau in his attitude toward the Vatican, but he made it far more drastic and aggressive. It is to be hoped that the new Ministry will remove from that policy the reproach of harshness and injustice. M. Rouvier, Minister of Finance in the late Cabinet, who has now been called upon to form the new Ministry, may choose workingmen's pensions and an income tax as objects to be achieved before the separation of Church and State is accomplished. Yet none the less the determination of the majority to separate Church and State and to secularize education will constitute the Government's chief line of action. There are many indications that the Republic steadily gains in strength and that it is firmly seated not only in the habits but in the convictions of the great majority of the French people.

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The United States in Santo Domingo

It is officially announced that an agreement has been signed by representatives of the Government of Santo Domingo on the one hand and by Mr. Dawson, the United States Minister, and Commander Dillingham of our navy on the other, whereby the United States is to undertake the task of collecting and apportioning the revenues of Santo Domingo. It is stated that this was earnestly desired by President Morales, and that both in the document signed and otherwise our Government has made it clear that Dominican integrity, politically and territorially, is to be scrupulously maintained. Emphatic assurance has been given that no project of annexation, purchase, or permanent control is involved. The United States will appoint agents to

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take charge of the custom-houses, whose subordinates will be Dominicans, and there will be inspectors appointed for both Governments. The United States will pay to the Dominican Government forty-five per cent. of the total customs receipts for use in carrying on the administration, and will apply the balance, less proper expenses, to the adjustment of the foreign and domestic debts. As we understand it, our Government does not become responsible for these debt claims, but will try to make a satisfactory adjustment with the creditors. Import dues are to remain as they are. The political turbulence and petty but constant revolutions in Santo Domingo have for many years involved the finances. Without intelligent supervision the country must go into bankruptcy. A statement authorized by the United States Department of State explains the situation and principles involved in the proposed transaction as follows:

> The unfortunate financial condition of Santo Domingo has more than once in the last decade brought the United States Government face to face with questions fraught with imminent peril. The Government of the United States could not with due self-respect allow the impression to deepen and gain currency that the Monroe Doctrine can be used as a shield by American republics to deny justice to other governments. Many foreign claims are just, beyond peradventure, and, being held by citizens of various governments, the problem became increasingly more difficult as to how these claims could be satisfied under existing conditions with fair treatment toward all. In some respects a still more embarrassing feature of the situation has been that the Dominican Government has been compelled by force to pay grossly exorbitant claims, and the question has arisen whether the United States should interpose in such cases. Such interposition has never been resorted to perhaps but once in our history.

The agreement made has been variously referred to as a protocol, memorandum, or merely agreement. If it is really in the nature of a protocol, it must be followed by a formal treaty, and thus come before the Senate for ratification. The probability is that it is not really in the nature of a treaty, and it is pointed out that this country has in time past aided Japan and Korea to reorganize their finances without the signing of any treaty.

Congressional Proceedings

The House of Representatives last week adopted all the twelve articles of impeachment against Judge Swayne, and seven members of the House were appointed managers for that body of the impeachment trial. It is to be noted, however, that the debate on the articles brought out strong opposition to proceeding with the case; the final motion was carried by a majority of only five; and even this narrow majority appears to have been based on the belief that it would not be dignified for the House to drop the impeachment proceedings after having proceeded so far in them—a course perhaps also unfair to Judge Swayne himself.——An interesting personal incident in the Senate was the appearance of Senator Mitchell, of Oregon, who has been indicted for conspiracy in land frauds, and his emotion when making a formal denial of the charges. With shaking voice and tears in his eyes, as the reports state, he vehemently characterized the charges as "absolutely, unqualifiedly, and atrociously false," "defiantly denounced their authors," and "branded them publicly as malicious and atrocious liars."——A resolution and speech from Senator Stone, of Missouri, asking for an investigation into the contributions by the trusts to the campaign funds of both political parties was hardly taken seriously by the Senate.——The Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, which has been so long investigating the election of Senator Smoot, of Utah, had Mr. Smoot before it last week, and subjected him to a long examination and cross-examination. Personally, Senator Smoot made a good impression. He not only affirmed that he was in practice and theory absolutely opposed to the doctrine of polygamy, but he asserted that the statement that the Mormon Church controls its members in temporal and political as well as spiritual affairs was totally erroneous. He also claimed that the Church was not a factor in his candidacy, and that he did not solicit political support or votes on the ground that he was an Apostle or because he was a Mormon; that he was not and never had been under the orders of the

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Church in any way in politics; and, in response to the question whether there had been any suggestion or attempt by the Church to influence him as a Senator, he promptly said that he would resent such action had there been any, and that "it is none of the business of the Church."

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Railway Rate Regulation

Last week some interesting measures looking towards deliverance from shippers' and carriers' monopolies were introduced into Congress. By far the most important was the measure introduced by Representative Hepburn. It abolishes the present Inter-State Commerce Commission, and provides for a new commission of the same name, to be appointed by the President, having seven members, each with a salary of ten thousand dollars a year. The Commissioners first appointed are to serve for terms of four, five, six, seven, eight, nine, and ten years respectively from April, 1905, when it is proposed that the new measure shall take effect; their successors are to be appointed for terms of ten years. Protection to the public is found in the provision that the Commission shall declare and order what shall be a just and reasonable rate. Its order shall take effect in sixty days. Protection to the railways is assured by the provision that they may appeal to a High Court of Commerce to have the Commission's order reviewed. Pending the review, the Court may suspend the order, the carrier giving a bond for the payment of all damages incurred by shippers. In case two or more carriers fail to agree, the Commission is authorized to fix a joint rate, orders affecting all rates being subject to review by the new Court of Commerce. During a judicial review of its order the Inter-State Commerce Commission is authorized to modify or suspend the order under review. A penalty of five thousand dollars a day is imposed upon carriers who refuse to obey an order of the Commission. An appeal from the Court of Commerce can be taken only to the Supreme Court of the United States. The new Commerce Court is to be a court of record, with full jurisdiction in law and equity. It is to consist of five circuit judges of the United States, no two of whom shall be from the same circuit. They shall hold four regular sessions each year in Washington, and they shall have exclusive jurisdiction over cases brought by the Inter-State Commerce Commission. On the first day of each year the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States is to designate the five judges who shall constitute the Court of Commerce. For each of the judicial districts from which a judge is taken to perform the duties of the Commerce Court the President is authorized to appoint an additional circuit judge. The President is also authorized to appoint an Assistant Attorney-General for the enforcement of the Act.

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Naturalization of Aliens

Last week President Roosevelt sent two messages to the Senate transmitting reports and recommendations from the Secretary of State. The first message had as its subject the naturalization of aliens in the United States. From the most exhaustive report on the subject ever made to the State Department we learn that during the calendar year 1903 the Department issued over sixteen thousand passports, of which nearly half were to naturalized citizens. During the same period our diplomatic and consular officers issued over four thousand passports, of which almost exactly half were to naturalized citizens. The State Department, here and abroad, must issue passports to naturalized citizens when they establish a *prima facie* right to receive them. It must afford protection to them while they are abroad equally with citizens who were born in the United States. From all applicants or passports the Department requires proof of citizenship. While it refuses to recognize naturalization certificates when it has reason to believe that they were unlawfully obtained, it has no means of investigating the validity of certificates regular as to their face value, nor can any means be evolved by which the Department can properly review the action of the courts which naturalize

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aliens. Recently it has been discovered that many certificates of naturalization were forged. Other cases have been reported where a certificate properly granted has been sent to a friend abroad, who passes himself off as the person for whom it was issued. From all the diplomatic and consular officers of the United States who are called upon to protect American citizens abroad, complaints are made that our naturalization laws are being constantly evaded in these and other ways and that naturalization is conferred upon unworthy men. It is certainly a thankless task when, after the use of discretion and good judgment in protecting American citizens by our agents abroad, those citizens are discovered to be not entitled to the certificates which they hold. Furthermore, cases are constantly recurring of persons who have secured naturalization before they have resided in this country for the period of five years or before they were twenty-one years of age. Under our laws, about five thousand separate tribunals have the power to construe the naturalization laws. The rules which they make for this purpose vary widely. Hence the intention of our Constitution that there shall be a uniform rule of naturalization throughout the United States is defeated. In view of the foregoing, Mr. Hay makes the following timely suggestions:

(1) The law should restrict naturalization to certain courts definitely named, and should prohibit all other courts from entertaining naturalization proceedings. (2) The nature of the testimony upon which naturalization may be conferred should be more particularly prescribed than it now is. (3) The language and form of a certificate of declaration of intention to become a citizen, and of naturalization, should be prescribed by law and should be printed on a particular kind of paper to prevent counterfeiting. (4) The law should require that returns be made to the General Government at stated periods, by all courts having authority to naturalize, of all declarations of intention to become American citizens and of all naturalizations conferred.

As Madison once said, we need, not mere numbers of citizens, but good citizens. Mr. Hay's recommendations, if carried into legislation, would decrease both the number of bad citizens and the intolerable burden now upon our diplomatic and consular representatives abroad.

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Commercial Attachés

President Roosevelt's second message to the Senate recommended legislation to provide for co-operation by the Departments of State and Commerce in collecting information concerning trade conditions in foreign countries. The report is the work of Assistant Secretary of State Loomis. He asks that provision be made for six special agents to be called commercial attachés, to be attached to the diplomatic service or the consular corps, or to act as intermediaries between them. These attachés shall visit different countries and study industrial conditions with a view to suggesting modifications and changes in the existing plans of American foreign commerce. While deserved credit is given to our consular service for its efficiency in supplying our manufacturers and merchants with local information as to trade conditions which tend to advance or hinder the sale of our surplus products, to carry forward this work Mr. Loomis proposes to utilize the superior resources at hand. He does not think that resentment will be excited among foreign nations because of such an aggressive American campaign for trade. Germany has already practiced it, and other industrial countries have for some time been openly equipping for precisely such an effort. The duties of the proposed commercial attachés, being declaredly commercial, would in no way compromise our embassies or legations abroad, and as there are a number of consuls now in the service who may with right be classed as commercial experts, Mr. Loomis proposes to select the staff of new officers from their number. This reward for ability in the consular service ought to be an object of emulation for every man in that service. A second and not unimportant object to be attained would lie in the securing of a trained corps of consular inspectors, the lack of which has been seriously felt. The six attachés would receive five thousand dollars a year each and traveling expenses. It is not proposed that the attachés should have a fixed residence

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at any particular capital, but that they be transferred from point to point. The foreign service of our Government, diplomatic as well as consular, should be represented by the most efficient agencies possible in the countries to which we wish to sell our surplus products. While the present agencies are increasingly admirable, it is impossible that they should have the many-sided knowledge which traveling commercial agents can and should obtain.

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The Resignation of Commissioner Williams

Last week it was announced that Mr. William Williams, Commissioner of Immigration at the port of New York, had resigned, and that the President had reluctantly accepted the resignation. In the latter's letter to Mr. Williams he repeats what he had often said to the Commissioner in endeavors to dissuade him from insisting upon resigning:

> I feel that you have rendered a service of real and high importance to the whole Nation in your management of the office under you. When I asked you to take the position, I realized that I was asking you to do what meant genuine self-sacrifice on your part, and I realize that your consenting to stay so long has meant further loss to you. But surely you must feel recompensed by the knowledge of the value of your work. You have set a standard of unceasing industry, of untiring energy, of high administrative ability, and of single-minded devotion to duty which your successor will find it difficult to equal, no matter how good a man he may be.

Not only the citizens of the metropolis, but all American citizens, will echo the President's words, for the port of New York is the entry at which the vast majority of immigrants arrive. Mr. Williams found conditions of anarchy prevailing at Ellis Island, the immigrant station; he retires from a superintendence of that station leaving conditions of order. The extremely exacting duties of this office tax the ability, energy, tact, and judgment of any man. It is a National misfortune that one who unites these qualities in so marked a degree as does Mr. Williams must, in justice to himself, retire from a position which he has signally honored. In common with his many admirers, The Outlook wishes that some provision could have been made by which Mr. Williams might have been able to continue in office. If, however, the service must lose this markedly efficient man, it is the country's good fortune that Mr. Williams's successor is not to be a mere "political appointment," but an expert trained from boyhood in his particular department of work, one who, in the words of those who know, is "absolutely the best man in the immigrant service"—namely, Mr. Robert Watchorn, at present United States Commissioner of Immigration for Canada, with headquarters at Montreal. Mr. Watchorn came to this country himself as an immigrant, and his successful and honorable political career is an illustration of the fact that the United States is pre-eminently a land where merit and determination win.

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Exclusion for Opinion's Sake

The case of William Bishop, an immigrant to this country from Great Britain who has been detained for deportation and excluded on the ground that he is a dangerous person, has been appealed to Secretary Metcalf from the decision of the Special Board of Inquiry at Ellis Island, and very possibly this decision may be reversed by the final authority. The case has some points of similarity with that of Mr. Turner, who was detained because, in the opinion of the authorities, he came under the definition of an Anarchist. He voluntarily returned to England before the final decision was made. When The Outlook reported the case of Mr. Turner, it pointed out that the Government had a perfect right to exclude any person or persons not desired, and the concurrent right to lay down a law of definition of such a class of persons as it does not desire to receive in this country. This was done under Section 48 of the Immigrant Laws as regards Anarchists, and the question as to whether or not an individual is an Anarchist was left to the determination of a Special Board of Inquiry, with the right of appeal to the Secretary of Commerce and Labor. It is perfectly evident, however, that it is the moral duty of the Government to see that under such a restriction injustice is not

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done and that a competent and satisfactory method of determining the actual belief of an immigrant is provided. It is a task requiring intelligence and discrimination to decide whether a man is or is not an Anarchist under the meaning of the law, and whether or not he is dangerous or undesirable as a future citizen of this country. Mr. Bishop, who is a boiler-maker by trade, is said to be able to support himself, and in every respect—except possibly as to his opinions—is above the average of immigrants. He declared in answer to a close questioning that he was opposed to force, did not believe in mob rule but in majority rule, was opposed to the principles of Anarchism, and that he was a follower of Karl Marx and believed in Socialism as represented by the political movement in the United States going under that name. This would seem to be a perfectly clear statement, and nothing but ignorance could fail to recognize a wide difference and even opposition between Socialism and Anarchism. An answer, however, obtained from Mr. Bishop to an involved hypothetical question, was decided by the Board of Inquiry to imply that Mr. Bishop might countenance force as a political method. If the newspaper reports on the subject are correct, this conclusion was reached only by unfairly twisting the reply to a half-understood and involved question. If this is so, a reversal of the decision can hardly be denied. The whole incident is important only as showing the necessity of providing a careful and scientific method of applying such a difficult and delicate provision as that involved in this case.

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The Rout of the Gamblers

District Attorney Jerome, of New York, has convincingly demonstrated during the past two weeks that the Dowling Law, which was passed by the New York Legislature last winter through his efforts, is an efficient weapon for the prevention of gambling in New York State. He has succeeded in closing, without the necessity of making a single raid, from a dozen to twenty of the largest and most prosperous gambling-houses in the city, and by so doing he has made it apparent that the failure of the police to put an end to gambling is due either to inefficiency or to collusion. Since Mr. Jerome succeeded in driving out of business in New York Richard Canfield, the biggest of the gamblers, he has been quietly preparing for an extension of his campaign and gathering material for use under the provisions of the Dowling Law. He first tried to give the police force every opportunity to make use of the weapon which he had obtained for them, and when they were unable either to find gambling-houses or to obtain evidence against them, he took the fight into his own hands. He began with "Honest John" Kelly, who has been for ten years one of the best-known gamblers in the Tenderloin district. Mr. Jerome delivered at various times five subpœnas for Kelly to Captain Cottrell, of the "Tenderloin" Precinct. Four of these were returned to him with the statement that Kelly could not be found, and the fifth was in some way lost. For many months a uniformed policeman has been stationed in front of the house where Kelly formerly ran a gambling-place, while only two doors away he has been doing a thriving business. When Captain Cottrell was unable to serve any of the subpœnas, Mr. Jerome quietly sent for Kelly and asked him to call at his office. He did so, and when confronted with the evidence which Mr. Jerome had collected, he confessed that he had been running a gambling-house, consented to the seizure of all his gambling paraphernalia, agreed to discontinue business at once, and promised that at any time the District Attorney or any of his representatives would be freely admitted to the house. By the same methods, gambler after gambler has been brought to the District Attorney's office and, under the pressure which Mr. Jerome has been able to bring to bear, has been compelled to confess, to deliver up all his gambling apparatus, and to agree not to run a gambling-house in New York again. A storeroom in the Criminal Courts building is filled with faro-tables, roulette-wheels, playing-cards, poker-chips, and all the other paraphernalia of first-class gambling-houses, which are soon to be destroyed by Mr. Jerome's men.

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Waste by Fire

The waste of life in this country through so-called accidents, which in a great majority of cases are due to haste and carelessness, has been widely commented on of late, both here and abroad. The New York "Sun" calls attention to the same National fault in another direction—the enormous waste of property by fire, which reached, last year, the total of $230,000,000, a perceptible percentage of the wealth of the Nation. The average waste of property by fire is about $150,000,000 annually, and must be reckoned one of the greatest drains on the wealth of the country and one of the most serious taxes on its strength and resources, falling with special weight on productive industries. The number of fires and the vast loss which they entail compels a rate of premium which, as the "Sun" says, constitutes "an onerous and discouraging tax on industrial enterprises." In spite of these high rates, the earnings of the insurance business are comparatively small; and it is estimated that the loss by fire last year reached a sum which was equal to the net profits of the insurance companies in the country for the preceding ten years. These facts constitute a very serious indictment of American business methods; there is something wrong in the perspective of a people who continue to build in such a way as to make possible a definite percentage of loss of the value of the business of the country annually. It is discouraging to note the fact that the waste by fire has more than doubled since the era of steel-frame building began about twenty years ago. This form of structure has made possible great buildings into which are packed enormous quantities of merchandise of all kinds, the "Insurance Press" declaring in a recent number that in eighty-eight cities there are single blocks or squares in which are contained goods which may be destroyed by fire ranging in value from $1,000,000 to $25,000,000. New York heads the list with several districts in which $25,000,000 worth of combustible merchandise is stored. Million-dollar fires have become so frequent that very little attention is paid to them. The National Board of Fire Underwriters, with the co-operation of the United States Government, is conducting an investigation of fire conditions in all the larger cities. When that report is made, it will be a document of National interest and importance, for it ought to settle a number of questions with regard to modern construction and to the possibility of protecting the community against the enormous waste of fire.

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Civil Service National and State

In its twenty-first annual report to the President the Federal Civil Service Commission is able to make the gratifying statement that no need has arisen for further legislation beyond what is required to meet the added expense of conducting examinations. A further gratifying statement is found in the fact that during the past year the Civil Service Act has been made continually more effective. The increase in the number of persons examined over the previous year was fifteen per cent., and in the number appointed twenty per cent. The greatest increases were in examinations for rural carriers, stenographers, typewriters, and for the navy-yard service. A third gratfying statement is that concerning the "back door" of the service—namely, appointments to the classified service through transfers, reinstatements, suspensions of the rules, and temporary appointments. These have been less numerous than in former years, and show a correspondingly increased observance of the rule. Another notable event of the week as regards Civil Service Reform was Governor La Follette's recommendation in his inaugural address at Madison, Wisconsin. While the people elect the State officers, the county officers, and the principal officers of the cities, these officers have to call to their assistance large numbers of men who, under one designation or another, are expected to perform the labor of administering the government. How shall the latter be selected, and with what tenure shall they hold their respective positions? The only proper test, we believe, is that of merit. As Governor La Follette declares, to say that the test of party service should be applied is just as undemo-

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cratic as it would be to apply the test of birth or wealth or religion. Civil Service Reform laws, at first decried as "un-American" by the unthinking, have now long been enforced in the Federal service and in two States. These laws are not only truly American but are thoroughly practicable. Wisconsin and other States should have a Civil Service law. It need not be left optional with cities, as it was at first in Massachusetts and New York, to adopt the provisions of the State law, nor need it be left to the option of the Executive, as was done in the Federal service, to bring the several State officers and institutions under its provisions at such times as he may see fit. The law can be made applicable from the start to all cities and State departments to which experience already had in other States shows it to be adapted. In our opinion, it should be applicable to the larger cities and to county officers in those counties where the number of employees is large.

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The End of the Fall River Lockout

Conditions at Fall River, where twenty-five thousand mill workers have been locked out since July 25, 1904, rather than submit to a reduction of 22½ per cent. in wages, were abundantly ripe for just such an interposition as came with Mr. Douglas's accession to the Governorship of Massachusetts. As was stated in The Outlook when the situation at Fall River in Thanksgiving week was reviewed in detail, a deadlock had been reached. At that time the mill people were as determined in their opposition to the reduction as they were in July, and the cotton-mill treasurers were just as convinced that they could do business only on a basis of reduced wages. When The Outlook correspondent was in Fall River, neither side showed any disposition to give way, or even to discuss a compromise. A few of the mills had then been open for a week. A number of workpeople had returned. But even conceding that the manufacturers' figures as to the number of people back in the mills were correct, there were then twenty thousand fewer workpeople in Fall River's eighty-odd cotton-mills than there were before the mill treasurers brought about the lockout. In Thanksgiving week the mill treasurers were sanguine that they could bear down the resistance of the workpeople, and they would not meet the trade-union leaders to discuss anything but unconditional surrender. Lower prices in the market for cotton, the general uplift in the Lancashire cotton trade which had followed more settled conditions in the cotton market, together with the Government report foreshadowing a cotton crop of eleven and a half million bales, all put new heart into the trade-union leaders and the members of the unions; and although there was much distress among the workpeople, there was no great increase in the number of those who broke away from the unions and went back into the mills on the mill treasurers' terms. About Christmas time it became clear that only actual need—need of food and fuel—would compel the workpeople to give way. In other words, the operatives would have to be starved into the mills, unless there were some outside interposition to settle the long-drawn-out struggle.

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Intervention by Governor Douglas

It was at this juncture that Governor Douglas intervened. His first effort was not a success. It was, however, persisted in; and following a second conference between the union leaders and the representatives of the mill treasurers at the State House at Boston, work was resumed on Thursday of last week. The workpeople have gone back on the mill treasurers' terms—that is, at wages 22½ per cent. less than were paid up to November, 1903, when the first reduction of 10 per cent. was accepted by the operatives. But a sliding scale has been agreed upon; and if the New England cotton trade follows the course of the cotton trade of Lancashire, it is not likely that the present scale of wages can be of long duration. It is years since the Lancashire cotton-trade mills were as fully and as profitably employed as they are to-day. They are now all running just as many hours a

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week—56½—as the English Factory Code will allow, although for eighteen months prior to the fall in the price of raw cotton in the summer of 1904 hundreds of mills had been working short time, and many were closed altogether, for lack of orders. An important side issue in the Fall River struggle concerned the terms and conditions on which improved looms were to be worked by the weavers. The weavers complained that they had not been fairly treated when the improvements were installed—that the mill treasurers had appropriated for the mill companies too large a share of the economy in production that was resulting from the electric stop-action and longer bobbin. Since Thanksgiving week the mill treasurers have practically conceded these claims of the weavers, and last week when work was resumed there was a general revision of the terms on which the improved looms had been worked. This was a direct gain for the workpeople; and another great gain resulting from their long and really heroic struggle is that with any uplift in trade the mill treasurers have agreed to move up wages towards the level at which they stood prior to the first reduction in November, 1903. Much more could be said concerning the lock-out—of the indifference of the daily press towards a great struggle for a living wage; of the opposition of the mill treasurers to the presence of reporters at meetings with the union leaders; of the interest which the struggle has aroused in England. But the facts to be emphasized are—the peaceful and dignified conduct of the operatives, and the trust which they reposed in their leaders; and the fact that Governor Douglas's intervention—that is to say, an application of the idea of conference and arbitration—brought the struggle to an end.

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Monsignor Doane Monsignor Doane, who died at his home in Newark, New Jersey, last week, was one of the most widely known Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in the country. The son of one Protestant Episcopal Bishop and the brother of the present Bishop of Albany, he studied medicine, later took a course in theology, and entered the ministry of the Episcopal Church. In 1855 he became a Roman Catholic, prepared for the priesthood in Paris and Rome, and after various appointments was appointed rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral in Newark, a position which he held at the time of his death. In 1880 the title of Monsignor was conferred upon him as a chaplain of the Papal household, and in 1896 he was advanced to the highest rank of the Monsignori, with the privilege of wearing the purple, a dress with which the many friends who enjoyed his charming society under his own roof became very familiar. His ability and energy were shown in many difficult undertakings for the advancement of the interests of the Catholic Church in this country; he was eminently successful in raising large sums of money for St. Patrick's Cathedral, for an American college in Rome, and for other religious purposes. He was widely known and greatly esteemed outside his own communion; he belonged to various clubs, had a wide acquaintance in England and on the Continent, and was one of the most interesting men of his generation. His scholarship was of unusual breadth and quality; he was a devoted lover of books, and his interest in library extension was tireless. He rendered most effective aid in building up the Newark Free Library, which holds a position of exceptional influence among libraries of its class. His knowledge of etchings and engravings was that of an expert, and his own collection was of unusual range and interest. He had rare gifts as a companion, and those who knew him well counted association with him a great privilege. He was not only an eminent priest, but he was also a public-spirited citizen and a man of culture whose personality will long be held in affectionate remembrance.

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The Welsh Revival At the little village of Loughor in South Wales, near Llanelly, the center of the tin-plate industry, a religious revival began in November under the preaching of a young theological student, Mr. Evan Roberts, and now is spreading through

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the whole principality with a power exceeding anything of the kind there during the last half-century. The Welsh are naturally emotional, but calm observers agree that this revival is a very genuine spiritual movement. Even the irreligious confess respect for the power that stops drunkenness, gambling, swearing, and scamping of work, constrains to the honest payment of debts long deemed hopelessly bad, reunites broken families, and reconciles bitter enemies. It is a thoroughly ethical revival. It is said to have done more in a week to heal the social, domestic, and religious bitterness caused by the great strike in the Penrhyn slate quarries than it was hoped ten years could accomplish. It is not led by ministers, though they participate. It is spoken of as a "people's revival." With no apparent arrangement, though not without signs for months that something was in the air, it broke out all at once like a summer storm in places far apart in the colliery valleys, and now engrosses the attention of great towns like Cardiff, where Anglicans on one hand and Unitarians on the other speak of it sympathetically. Its salient characteristics are spontaneity and song. There is little preaching, but abundance of prayer, testimony, and singing; so much song, indeed, that it is called a "singing revival." Young women gifted in song come forward as effective helpers. It is a joyous revival. According to Principal Edwards, its salient marks are those of the Gospel of God's love. What its permanent effects are to be, already engages the thought of judicious sympathizers. It is thought certain that women will hereafter take a larger part in the service and work of the churches; also that the social or institutional church, as a center of all uplifting influences, will be needed to hold the multitudes steadfast to their new way of life.

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Railways in Africa

A writer in "Cassier's Magazine" calls attention to the recent railway development in the colony of Natal. There are now eight hundred miles of railway in operation in that colony. Unlike most South African colonies, Natal does not depend for its material resources on gold and diamond mining; its benefits from these sources being due to the carriage of men and minerals between the mining centers of the adjoining colonies and its port of Durban. Instead, it owes its importance to the development of agriculture, and in a lesser degree to manufactures and coal-mining. The fact that this last-named industry exists may be somewhat of a revelation to our readers, yet we are informed by the report of the manager of railways that a valuable part of the railway earnings comes from carrying the six hundred thousand tons which form the annual output of the Natal coal mines. As an evidence of noteworthy development, however, the writer in "Cassier's" might have turned his attention to the north, that is, to Rhodesia. The Cape-to-Cairo railway is now being carried some three hundred miles to the north of the Zambesi River to the bend of the Kufue, in which region extensive discoveries of copper, lead, and zinc have been made. The total length of the Cape-to-Cairo railway will be about five thousand five hundred miles, of which half has been completed. Much of the intermediate distance is traversed by navigable lakes and rivers, which, temporarily at least, can be used to complete the route. While much has been said about this great railway conception, very little has been heard of another interesting trans-African scheme, the east and west route by which Matadi on the west, at the mouth of the Congo, and Mombasa on the Indian Ocean, will be linked together. At both ends a railway is already in working order, in the one case to Stanley Pool and in the other to Lake Victoria Nyanza. A railway of peculiar interest to Americans, however, is that now being built from the Nile to the Red Sea, because the road starts eastward from the confluence of the Nile and Atbara Rivers, where an American steel bridge crosses the latter. This point is to be the collecting center for the exports of the Sudan. The commercial outlet from the Sudan has hitherto been the Nile railway, thirteen hundred miles long, from Khartum to Alexandria. The difficulty with this railway, however,

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has been the prohibitive freight rates, for the locomotives are fired by coal that costs ten dollars per ton. By the new railway to the Red Sea, however, Khartum would be separated from the sea by only four hundred and seventy miles, and the distance between the Nile at its confluence with the Atbara and the sea is only two hundred and fifty miles. When this road is completed, the export of grain and cotton from the Sudan will add considerably to the world's resources. African railways form the agent in opening to the world a hitherto Dark Continent.

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A Menace to Our Forests

A decision has just been handed down in the United States Supreme Court which emphasizes the pressing need for revision of the laws permitting the cutting of timber on the public lands of the United States. The decision was on an appeal taken by the Government from the Supreme Court of Arizona in a case against the United Verde Copper Company. The copper company had cut timber to the value of nearly $40,000 on the public lands in Arizona, and had used the wood for the purpose of roasting ore taken from their mines. The Act of June 3, 1878, upon which the action was based, permits the cutting of timber on the public mineral lands of the United States by residents of the State or Territory in which the land are situated "for building, agricultural, mining, or other domestic purposes." The decision of the Court was concerned with the interpretation of the words "other domestic purposes." Counsel for the Government contended that "domestic" meant household, and that, therefore, the statute prohibited the cutting of timber except for the uses which are specifically mentioned, "building, agriculture, and mining," and for purposes which might be considered "household" purposes. The Court overruled this contention, deciding that the word "domestic" applies to the locality to which the statute is directed, and that it gives permission to the industries there practiced to use the public timber. A dissenting opinion was read by Mr. Justice Brown, who held that any statute which permits public timber to be cut by individuals should be narrowly construed. He called attention to the fact that the statute as interpreted by the majority of the Court would permit the destruction of all timber standing upon public mineral lands. The danger which Mr. Justice Brown points out is a very real one, and this decision of the Court only makes more certain the ultimate denudation of the public lands of the United States in the districts where minerals are mined. The law, even before this new decision had widened its application, was thoroughly bad, and its repeal should be sought immediately as one of the necessary steps in the policy of forest preservation which this country is slowly adopting. The Bureau of Forestry, under the admirable administration of Mr. Gifford Pinchot, is doing excellent work for the protection and perpetuation of our forests. Its hands are tied, however, by the presence on the statute-books of the so-called "stone and timber" law and of the law which has just been interpreted by the Supreme Court. Congress should give the Bureau prompt assistance in the good work which it is trying to do by promptly repealing these two vicious statutes and by passing such laws as will enable the Bureau to preserve our forests from those who would exploit them for personal gain without regard to the future effect of their depredations.

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Two Notable Painters

By the death last week in England of George Henry Boughton and in America of Robert Swain Gifford the world of art is distinctly the poorer. Mr. Boughton had reached the age of seventy years. He was of English birth; his family came to America, and Boughton passed his boyhood in Albany. He early developed an artistic taste. At nineteen he sold his first picture and with the proceeds went to London and studied. Returning to this country, he settled in New York City as a landscape-painter. In the course of a few years, however, he recognized the need of more study and went to Paris for two years, afterwards opening a studio in London. He became a member both of the National Academy of New York and of the Royal

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Academy of London. Mr. Boughton is probably best known by his New England and Dutch scenes, especially the former, which were remarkable because of the restful but rarely monotonous effect of their quiet gray and silvery tones. The painter seemed to have almost unerring instinct for translating into line and sober color whatever was picturesque of our old Puritan life. Robert Swain Gifford, on the other hand, was not a figure-painter, but the delineator of New England landscape, especially the dunes and marshes of his favorite Nonquitt. Though the leader of what we have come to know as our older landscape school, his work was by no means representative of that school as it existed years ago. His canvases were steadily growing in largeness of treatment; in their rich solidity some of them even reminded one of Rousseau. Neither a romanticist nor an impressionist, Swain Gifford may have leaned too far towards mere topographical accuracy, but his instinct for the best subject-matter and for sound technique produced pictures which were deservedly popular wherever shown.

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Is it a Revolution?

We describe on another page the massacre in St. Petersburg last Sunday. Is this the beginning of a revolution? The answer depends upon the question how widespread is the feeling which animated these martyrs. There are reasons for believing that this feeling practically extends throughout the Empire.

The campaigns of Napoleon I. overthrew autocracy for all western Europe. Defeated by the winter climate of Russia, not only he but with him republican hopes retreated from that Empire, but not until the people even of Russia had received an awakening from the torpor of centuries. Since that time democratic forces have been at work within the Russian Empire, not less efficacious because unseen. The zemstvos or county councils, organized forty years ago throughout many of the provinces, were directed to confine their discussions to local matters; but we may be very sure that, besides the official discussion in the public assembly, there was much private discussion of national questions; and in these zemstvos the landed aristocracy and the peasantry were brought together for purposes of mutual conference, we believe for the first time. Four or five years ago instructions were issued from the Czar, under the administration of Minister Witte, to consider the cause of agricultural and industrial distress; but agricultural and industrial distress could not be considered without considering the question of taxation and national administration. Thus an additional incentive was furnished to a public discussion of national rights and wrongs. Under Minister Witte an attempt was made to build up manufacturing industries. It succeeded. In many cases members of the peasant class were brought together in industrial centers for government work, or for the conduct of private capitalistic enterprises. Men who had always before lived their individual life now for the first time realized the necessity and the advantage of organization, and availed themselves of their industrial organization to interchange their complaints, their aspirations, their desires. During all this time the revolutionary work carried on by such persons as Katharine Bereshkovsky, and so admirably described by her in the interview published in The Outlook for January 7, was pervading the Empire. These schools of revolution were not less significant because they were secret. Two thousand missionaries of human rights, Madame Bereshkovsky tells us, traveled among the peasants, telling them of their rights and stirring in them an active discontent to take the place of their dull despair. The writings of Tolstoy, Turgenieff, and Gorky, and others less widely known, were at the same time getting a circulation among the educated classes. Revolutionism was taking possession of the universities. Dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic system was growing deep and strong among the landed proprietors, quite as deep and quite as strong as the dissatisfaction with their practical serfdom among the peasant class.

Then came the Japanese-Russian war. Defeat after defeat suffered by the Rus-

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sian army, disclosure after disclosure of the corruption which was impoverishing the Empire and enriching the few, combined to disillusionize the Russian people, and to show them that the bureaucracy had neither the power nor the sagacity which it was supposed to possess. Finally, the changes of administration, giving evidence to all who could read public events of the vacillation of the Czar, have tended to produce something of that lack of respect for his personality which found voice six months ago in the remarkable contribution by a high Russian official to the "Quarterly Review."

Thus for nearly or quite half a century the combustible materials have been gathering for a great revolution in Russia. What a day or a week may bring forth no one can tell, for there are many questions which must be answered before the interpreter of public events can foretell immediate issues. Are the Russian workingmen, wherever they are gathered in considerable groups, so devoted to liberty that they are ready to die for it, like their fellow-workmen in St. Petersburg? Are the peasantry scattered throughout the Empire, whose representatives are to be found in these groups of workingmen, inspired by a similar spirit of devotion and of courage? Are there other priests of the Greek Church like the priest Gopon, ready to lead the peasantry in an attack upon the established order? Will the disciples of Tolstoy, the men of the university, the liberals among the landed proprietors, join hands with and furnish leaders to the workingmen and the peasantry in this democratic uprising? Does the army share in the national discontent and dissatisfaction? Are there other regiments besides the one reported to have thrown down its arms at St. Petersburg who will refuse to shoot their fellow-men for the crime of loving liberty and seeking succor from intolerable conditions? How much military force has the bureaucracy in Russia to meet present conditions? How far has its military arm throughout the Empire been weakened by the draft upon the army for its foreign war? Will the heterogeneous elements of which the Russian population is composed unite in the war for liberty? Or are the race and religious differences dividing this heterogeneous people so great as to make unity of action impossible?

To these questions we can give no answer to-day. Only events can answer them. It is therefore impossible to foretell how rapid will be the revolution which was initiated on Sunday morning in the streets of St. Petersburg.

But that it will be possible eventually to repress this revolution we do not for a moment believe. The stars in their courses fight against autocracy. The martyred workingmen of St. Petersburg have died for liberty, and martyrs for liberty do not die in vain. Napoleon's prophecy that in half a century Europe would be Cossack or Republican has received its fulfillment for all western Europe, not in formal republicanism, but in constitutional governments which recognize the right of the people to representation in the State. The Cossacks who shot and sabered the fleeing men, women, and children where the windows of the Winter Palace looked down upon the carnage, have asked, in tones which will be heard throughout the whole Russian Empire, Shall Russia be Cossack? It may take years to answer that question. The answer may cost unnumbered lives. But that the question has been put and has been heard, and will be answered, and that the answer will be not Cossack but Democratic, can hardly be doubted by any one who has read with consideration the course of past history, and believes that it is directed by a Divine Power to divine ends.

As we look across the sea to that host of ignorant, bewildered, oppressed, superstitious workingmen, led by the priest in his golden vestments, holding aloft the cross, the rattle of the musketry and the shrieks and groans of the wounded die away, and we hear only the silent song of their hearts which our own poet has interpreted for all liberty's martyrs:

"In the beauty of the lilies Christ was born across the sea,
With a glory in his bosom that transfigures you and me;
As he died to make men holy, let us die to make men free,
While God is marching on."

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Keeping the New Blood Pure

That immigration has been and will continue to be a source of incalculable power to the United States is a fact we here assume. We shall not attempt to prove it. Our confidence in the American race of the future is due to the commingling on this continent of the blood and the characteristics of many peoples quite as much as to the unhampering environment of a new land.

Some concrete cases are worth citing as illustrations of the sort of contribution these immigrants are making, in no extraordinary way, to the life of the Nation. One family, consisting of a father and mother and six children, were discovered by some charitably-minded people in Boston not many years ago. So destitute was this household that these friendly visitors came very near deciding to transport its members to their old home across the sea, that they might not become a public charge. To-day, of those children, one, who developed marked talent for designing, has had a position of responsibility in the construction of statuary at the St. Louis Fair; another holds a place of trust and authority in one of the large American printing-houses; the others, with one exception, and he no worse than a wanderer, are giving promise of similar usefulness. In the same city, out of a small reading circle, consisting of ten immigrant children, six have won for themselves a high technical or academic education, one having been house physician in one of the greatest of American hospitals. It is such as these who give character to the Nation. Occasionally among these immigrants is a genius. Such is one of the foremost of American electrical experts, who a few years ago arrived in the steerage. It is, however, among immigrants as among the rest of us; the one who does the ordinary task well is the one who renders indispensable service to society.

If the immigrant is good for America, America is good also for the immigrant. Let two illustrations suffice. Recently one of the leading jurists of Sweden wrote a letter to King Oscar of Sweden and Norway giving the results of his experience in a trip through the Northwestern States of America. His conclusion was that Norway and Sweden should encourage emigration to America, for the energy and breadth of view which these emigrants obtained here would in some measure find a way back to the Scandinavian peninsula. The neighborliness which exists between Swedes and Norwegians in America might be carried over-sea and thus become the solution for the dissensions which have long prevented the real union of the two kingdoms. This testimony is confirmed by what has recently been said in private by an Italian official of high rank: that those Italians who have come to the United States, have caught, in part at least, the American spirit, and then have returned to their native land, are thereafter better Italian citizens than they ever were before.

Every such evidence of the value to America and to the world of American immigration, so far from being a reason for regarding it with a feeling of passive indifference, is a reason for a determination to regulate and control it. If this were a polluting flood, the United States might be justified either in attempting to dam it up altogether or in helplessly allowing it to inundate the land. But as it is mainly a source of invigoration, the United States is bound to see that its invigorating qualities are not impaired by harmful ingredients.

There are two ways in which such discrimination can be, and is, exercised: first, by the rejection of those whose coming is of no advantage to themselves and works injury to the Nation; second, by the proper control and disposition of those who are fit for admission. In the political body as in the physical body correct assimilation and correct circulation of what is assimilated are equally necessary.

That undesirable immigrants attempt entrance into America needs no argument; how many effect entrance nobody knows. First, and most obviously undesirable, are the diseased. Pity for those who are infected with a loathsome and contagious disease can never make such

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people harmless. For the sake of those who are coming to these shores to escape the noxious conditions under which they have had to live, if not for our own sake, we Americans must rigidly exclude those who can spread disease here. Public sentiment ought to support the policy of medical inspection of immigrants, and demand that it be more rather than less rigid. Secondly, the insane, the criminally disposed, and the dependent ought to be excluded. It is true this country is an asylum, but it is not an insane asylum; it is a refuge, but it is not a penitentiary or a poorhouse. In the latest report of Mr. F. P. Sargent, Commissioner-General of Immigration, are given tables of figures concerning the aliens in insane and charitable institutions which constitute a warning that ought to be heeded. According to these tables, the proportion of aliens in such institutions is ten times the proportion of citizens; that is, there are thirty aliens within to every thousand outside of such institutions, while of citizens there are only three within to every thousand outside. Put in another way: the proportion of aliens to citizens in this country (outside of such institutions) is 13 to 1,000; within public insane and charitable institutions, however, the proportion of aliens to citizens rises to 137 to 1,000! This Nation recognizes its obligation to welcome the poor and oppressed of every land; but it has no obligation to relieve foreign nations of their duty to care for their own insane and dependent people. In the third place, the Nation has a right to declare that those aliens are undesirable who come to this country long enough only to obtain citizenship papers, and then return to their own land to live there under American protection. Mr. Marcus Braun, a special agent of the Immigration Bureau, whose report is in part incorporated in Mr. Sargent's report, gives instance after instance of such "citizens for revenue only."

These are types of aliens whom, in justice to all Americans, foreign born and native alike, the Nation has a right to exclude. In exercising this right the Nation will get no aid from the steamship companies. They are willing to run great risks in order to foster their traffic, and are ingenious in evading their responsibility. One company, for instance, has given instructions to its pursers regarding their acceptance of diseased steerage passengers which show that it has exacted from diseased emigrants indemnity for possible fines; and yet these instructions are within legal limits. The defect of our present system is, of course, to be found in the attempt to control the flood when it has concentrated its full force on this side of the ocean. The more speedily all inspection can be transferred to foreign ports of embarkation—and even to the towns from which the emigrants start—the better. It is easier to control a rivulet than a torrent.

The distribution of desirable immigrants, moreover, is quite as important as the elimination of the undesirable. Foreign nations which send emigrants here are interested in retaining their loyalty, for as soon as a man becomes American he sends no money to the "old country." The foreign colonies, therefore, which exist in our large Eastern cities are in part artificial products. And it is from these foreign colonies that the turbulent and troublesome elements in those cities are chiefly recruited. With such our cities are overcrowded, while great stretches of our land are in need of just the labor these aliens could easily and happily supply. There are, for instance, nine Southern States, comprising an area of 425,000 square miles, with a foreign-born population of only 156,000; while the single State of Connecticut, with an area scarcely more than one-hundredth of that, has a foreign-born population more than half again as large. Here in the South is a new country—that is, a country, though long settled, decidedly undeveloped—hungry for the pioneers that are now producing chiefly social problems.

Such an artificial condition needs an artificial remedy. At the risk of being paternal, the Federal Government could well, under the guise of such an Information Bureau as Commissioner Sargent proposes, promote the distribution of immigrants. The various immigration societies are active to this end. The

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Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, for instance, has recently found employment in the South for numbers of immigrants. But the efforts of such private organizations can at best be but co-operative. The railroads, especially those of the South, are rousing to their opportunity, and only recently held a conference with a view to diverting this flood of immigrants to the regions that need it. The problem of human irrigation is a pressing one in America; and it needs the aid of Federal law. To revert to a former figure, the congestion which causes the fever of our cities can be relieved only by some stimulus to the circulation of the new blood that is entering this growing and, on the whole, healthy and vigorous political body of the United States.

Those who lack faith in their fellow-men will see in this phenomenon of immigration only a menace to American institutions. On the other hand, those who have faith in their fellow-men need not, for that reason, regard immigration with easy good nature. They need rather to insist that it be controlled, directed, and used just because it is wholesome.

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Indian Appropriations for Sectarian Schools

We are advised on very good authority that the $102,780 which it is proposed to appropriate to sectarian schools among the Indians is not to be appropriated out of public funds, but by Executive order out of Indian trust funds, and that the appropriation is based upon a petition from the Indians themselves, who desire to use this money in order to educate their children In denominational schools. This does not seem to us to make the policy involved in this appropriation any more defensible. In fact, in one respect it makes the policy less defensible.

The Act of 1897 declared it "to be the settled policy of the Government to hereafter make no appropriation whatever for education in any sectarian school." To appropriate by executive order Indian money out of Indian trust funds for sectarian schools is to violate the spirit of this Act; for, though the declaration was made by Congress, it was made on behalf of the Government, and when the Churches approved this policy of the Government as declared in 1897, and made their arrangements to carry on their denominational schools out of their own funds, they understood that all appropriations for sectarian schools among the Indians were to be discontinued. The principle involved in that declaration by the Government was, as the Baptist Home Missionary Society correctly states the principle in its letter of protest to the President, "the separation of Church and State, and the non-appropriation, either directly or indirectly, of public funds for sectarian purposes." The tribal funds of the Indians are public funds. The executive order appropriates these public funds for sectarian purposes.

The present Indian Commissioner, Mr. Leupp, has no responsibility for the contracts for the maintenance and support of sectarian schools. He proposes that all funds held for the tribes shall be at an early date allotted to individuals as now the tribal lands are allotted to individuals. We are inclined to think that this is a wise policy. If it should be pursued, and the funds should pass into the hands of the individual Indians, each Indian would then have the same right which all other Americans have to say for himself whether he would have his children educated in public schools at Government expense or in parochial schools at his own expense. But at present these funds belong to the tribe as a tribe and are held by the Government in trust for the tribe. For the Government, which is the guardian of the Indians, to expend their trust funds for sectarian purposes, is to apply to the Indians a policy which would not be applied in dealing with any other people; a policy which is un-American, which is in direct contravention of the constitutional provisions of many of our States, which violates the spirit of the Constitution of the United States, and introduces sectarian strife among the Indians by setting Protestant and Roman Catholic

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Indians signing antagonistic petitions. This is but to transfer the ecclesiastical lobby from Washington to the reservation; to jump from the frying-pan into the fire.

What jurisdiction Congress has over the Indian trust funds we are not certain. There seems to be some doubt among experts on that question. We hope, however, that Congress will declare itself, either by formal act or by joint resolution, against any departure from the fundamental principle that public funds, whether in the United States Treasury or under the control of the Indian Department, shall not be appropriated for sectarian schools; and we advise those of our readers who believe that this principle should control the public action of the Government, whether Congressional or Executive, to write either to the Hon. Francis E. Leupp, Indian Commissioner, to the Hon. William H. Stewart, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Indian Affairs, or to the Hon. James S. Sherman, Chairman of the House Committee on Indian Affairs, their protest against any appropriations by any branch of the Government for sectarian purposes.

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The Spectator

Last summer the Spectator had a curiously baffling hunt for the only original Browning epitaph in America, and this was the way of it. He was staying at Portsmouth, that quaint old town known to all old boys of his generation as the scene of Thomas Bailey Aldrich's "Story of a Bad Boy," in which incidentally is recorded what the poet called the most perfect couplet, even to the number of letters, he had ever chanced upon:

Root beer
Sold here.

Over against this the Spectator has always been tempted to set, with Mr. Aldrich's kind permission, the couplet the New York "Sun" discovered in the big drifts of the 1888 visitation:

This bliz
Knocks biz.

But these effusions of practical life have only the incongruous association of Portsmouth suggestion with the original Browning epitaph, hidden in a Maine graveyard across the river. "If you go to Kittery," said a literary friend whom the Spectator encountered on a Rye Beach trolley car, "you must not miss the Browning epitaph. It is"—but here the friend got off hastily, and the Spectator did not learn anything further, mortuarywise or geographically.

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"If you decide to go anywhere for no reason in particular, it is always well to make an object. So long as we are going to Kittery, let us look up the Browning epitaph." This was the Spectator's own sententious remark to Mrs. Spectator when one afternoon they decided "to see what Kittery is like." The Spectator had no thought in mind of not proposing the easiest thing in the world, in fact, something quite absurdly easy. He took it for granted that of course everybody in Kittery must know the location of the town's great literary distinction. Under this preconception he confidently approached a gentleman on the deck of the little ferryboat which takes one over from Portsmouth and to him put the question. The gentleman's reply was a hopeless negative, even to the existence of the epitaph, of which he had never heard—this apologetically qualified by the explanation that he spent in Kittery only a month of each summer. Did he know in what part of the town the cemetery was? Yes, he did know where there was one cemetery, but he thought the town had four others. A hunt of five cemeteries struck Mrs. Spectator as somewhat appalling. So the Spectator asked his new acquaintance for suggestion as to the best place to apply for information, and was advised on general principles to try the post-office as the surest information bureau—advice on which he acted.

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A trolley takes the Kittery visitor from the ferry landing to "the Center" and the post-office. The young woman at the stamp window was very polite, but unsatisfactory, regretting exceedingly that she had never heard of any Browning epitaph in Kittery. She

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thought, however, that Mr. Blank, the town clerk, who, she believed, kept a record of all the deaths, must know, and his butcher's shop was just across the street. Business was rushing when the Spectator, still somewhat confident, stepped into the shop, and he had to wait quite a time to interview the proprietor—once more without result. But the town clerk took a genuine interest in the Spectator's quest. "You see, literary things are not exactly in my line," he said. "Now, if only old man Howells was here"—this with the familiarity of affection and not of disrespect, Mr. William D. Howells having his summer house in Kittery, as doubtless will be recalled—"he could tell you right off. Then there's Mr. A. would know, but he's off on his yacht; or Mr. B., but he's at camp-meeting. There ain't another blessed citizen I can think of who would know," he added, disconsolately. So the Spectator thanked him, and joined Mrs. Spectator outside.

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It was late for a graveyard search, and so they strolled up the street. An attractive little public library caught their eye. "The very place to ask," said Mrs. Spectator, anticipating her husband's thought. "Of course they must know there." "Of course," assented the Spectator. So they entered, and he put the now familiar question to the young woman in charge. But she knew no more than the others, and apparently cared less.

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A woman's intuition, at least it was nothing else, made Mrs. Spectator certain that the Browning epitaph was in the graveyard at Kittery Point. So, on another afternoon, she and the Spectator, taking the little boat that runs up and down the bay, dropped off at the Point and repeated their question to the clerk at the desk of the resort hotel. Of course, as now expected, he had no personal information to give, but at once directed them to a summer resident's cottage, just next door to that of Mr. Howells, where he was sure they could learn what they were after. And he was right. The gentleman of the house, greatly amused at the tale of their experience, led them to an obscure corner of a typical country graveyard, directly on the highroad in sight of the trolley cars and not three minutes' walk from the hotel, and pointed out the stone. It had been placed there in memory of Levi Lincoln Thaxter, husband of Celia Thaxter, the poet, whose cottage at Appledore, one of the Isles of Shoals, is still shown to visitors. The stone, perhaps three feet high, was a common boulder, such as one finds along shore, untouched in any way, as Mr. Thaxter had wished. The cutting of the inscription was slight and superficial, and the obliterating work of time, though only for nineteen years, had already made the lettering indistinct, especially as the boulder stood in the shadow of some big trees. Here and there a word which could not be read was traced out, letter by letter, by Mrs. Spectator with her fingers. The result, lacking the assistance of almost all discernible punctuation, would be an excellent puzzle for a Browning Club, as follows:

"Thou whom these eyes saw never say friends true
Who say my soul helped onward by my song
Though all unwittingly has helped thee too
I gave but of the little that I knew:
How were the gift requited while along
Life's path I pace could'st thou make
Weakness strong,
Help me with knowledge—for life's old
Death's new
R. B. to L. L. T. April, 1885."

This is the proper form of the epitaph as the Spectator found it in his Browning on returning home:

"Thou, whom these eyes saw never! Say friends true
Who say my soul, helped onward by my song,
Though all unwittingly, has helped thee too?
I gave but of the little that I knew:
How were the gift requited while along
Life's path I pace, couldst thou make weakness strong!
Help me with knowledge—for life's old—death's new!"

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The short story of the epitaph is told in a note. Mr. Thaxter had been, from young manhood to death, a devoted student of Browning, one who by intui-

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tion seemed never to miss the master's meaning. His Browning readings, given in Boston, were marked by unusual subtlety of interpretation. Naturally the poet was greatly interested to hear of this through letters from Mrs. Thaxter. He therefore willingly consented to write the last word for the one whom he had never seen, on the request of Mr. Thaxter's son. As the Spectator thought the incident over, it seemed in a way appropriate that a tribute thus simple and sincere should be paid so unobtrusively as to miss even the casual notice of many people living close at hand. For surely no quieter nook ever hid from passing eyes a finer appreciation of master for disciple.

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In his trolley and steamer trips from Portsmouth in various directions the Spectator was impressed, as he has been in other summer sojournings, with the interesting associations one unexpectedly encounters. Not to speak of the Celia Thaxter cottage, and that murder story whose ghastly details the waves almost washed up under her windows—to feel its possibility of horror it should be read on the rock of that lonely isle where the deed was done—the Spectator was struck, as he sailed out, by the choice of the name "Pocahontas" for a conspicuous summer hotel. Why Pocahontas, at that remove from Virginia? But when a monument almost shadowing the scene of the murder told him how John Smith once landed on the Isles of Shoals while exploring the New England coast, and when later he looked into history and read that perhaps John Smith originated the name "New England," he saw a certain appropriateness in associating Pocahontas with the Portsmouth region.

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Of course the Spectator made a pleasant trolley pilgrimage—the act of piety is the same if the vehicle is somewhat incongruous—to the old Whittier house at Amesbury and the Whittier birthplace outside of Haverhill. To one who cares to see the kitchen-living-room of an old New England farm-house exactly reproduced, this latter is most interesting. For every distinguishing feature is there—brick oven, crane, warming-pan, foot-stove (to be carried to church), rag carpet, pan of apples on the table, and the closet bedroom, off and two steps up, where the father and mother slept.

❀

The Amesbury house is made doubly attractive by the kindly interest of the cicerone, Mr. Samuel T. Pickard, whose own house it now is, his wife having inherited it from her uncle, the poet. Of many things to be said about it, the Spectator selects three because they might escape the ordinary casual visitor, especially if he were one of a large party. One incident illustrates how even a poet of patriotism and religion may have his unanticipated peculiarities. An album of old-fashioned photographs, relatives and friends, had actually been tampered with, the poet having, with pen and ink, extended the hair over the forehead, Quaker fashion. One very bald-headed subject had, however, escaped. His forehead was "2 mutch," as Artemus Ward said. Another incident concerned the album containing the resolutions of congratulation passed by Congress on Whittier's eightieth birthday, signed by every member of both Houses, including, of course, the Southerners. In that album Mr. Pickard had placed loosely a letter of protest from Whittier to Senator Hoar, because the poet, in his modesty, thought the resolutions too laudatory. After the departure of a large party to whom he had shown the album, Mr. Pickard found that some vandal had purloined the letter—the party consisting of students at a summer school under the auspices of a leading college! Whittier warmly admired James G. Blaine, and Mr. Blaine was devoted to Whittier's poetry. On one occasion of a visit to Amesbury, Mr. Blaine suggested that the line describing a country maiden in "Among the Hills," reading

"Not beautiful in curve and line,"

would be better if it read

"Not fair alone in curve and line,"

and the suggestion was adopted by Whittier.

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The Development of Self-Government Some Lessons of the Late Election

By Charles J. Bonaparte

"NO man is free who is not master of himself;" no voter is free who is not, in truth and not in mere semblance, master of his vote; no people, whatever the name or form of its government, is free unless its rulers are those, and those only, it would have as rulers. If its action be hampered, its wishes be overridden, in their choice, whether this constraint be the work of a foreign conqueror, a legal autocrat or oligarchy, or an extra-legal ruler or ruling body, a "boss" or a "ring," a "leader," a "machine," or an "organization," then, in all these cases alike, the result is the same, the people is not free; a community thus governed has not self-government.

Of course it may have good government, much better than it could give itself. Freedom to a baby means death; to a youth it means often the wreck of all present or future usefulness and happiness; even a young man, left too soon

"Lord of himself, that heritage of woe!"

may have every reason to echo the bitter words of the poet. So a people, as suggested by Mr. Mill, may be in a state of "nonage" socially and politically, which for a time at least would make self-government in its case no less "a heritage of woe" than for the untrained, unformed individual. Such a people may well thank Heaven if it find, as Mr. Mill says, "an Akbar or a Charlemagne," that is to say, a just, wise, brave, unselfish "boss" (whether he call himself King, Emperor, Dictator, or something else matters little), or an enlightened and public-spirited "ring" or "machine" (whose members may or may not be enrolled in a Golden Book), to guide its infant steps in national life: but the American Nation is not such a people, and our political leaders and organizations fulfill no such self-sacrificing function.

We claim to be free, and, in so far as we are not what we claim to be, the impairment of our liberty works, not for good, but for grave and shameful evil, to tarnish our fair fame as a nation, to debase our politics, to degrade our public men and corrupt individual, no less than popular, morals, as well as to waste our material resources, lessen general wealth and comfort, and clog civilization. Where Americans most thoroughly and most truly govern themselves, they are best governed; where they are, or may now seem to be, too lazy or too luxurious or too much engrossed by merely personal interests to give time and thought to their own government, those who govern them, govern them ill, and the worse, the more completely the people abdicate its duties and its sovereignty. Among us the development of self-government means the growth of righteousness: what hope for such growth may be gleaned from the results of our recent elections?

I.—The Result in Missouri. Political Weakness of Iniquity

In 1900, McKinley polled 314,092 votes in Missouri; Bryan, 351,922. Flory, the Republican candidate for Governor, obtained 3,813 more votes than the former; Dockery, his Democratic opponent, 1,877 less than the latter. When the last Presidential nominations were made, the State was considered by most politicians of both parties safely Democratic; but the candidacy of Joseph W. Folk obliged the Republicans to deal with a very interesting problem of political strategy.

Mr. Folk was a public prosecutor who had gained much credit by vigorously prosecuting certain notorious criminals of great political influence in his own party organization. He had done, it is true, no more than his plain duty, the duty he was chosen, sworn, and paid to do; but he had done it in earnest and not merely

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made a show of doing it, had really tried to bring "boodlers" and "grafters" to actual punishment; and such conduct would seem to have been sufficiently noteworthy in an officer intrusted with some share in the administration of justice in Missouri to gain him at once the admiration and confidence of the public and the bitter hatred of men who prey upon the public. The latter had tried hard and had failed to prevent his nomination; they were no less ready to do all in their power to elect his competitor, should he have one, for there is no politics in systematic and professional iniquity; and it was "up to" the Republican politicians to say whether he should have a competitor.

I have called this a question of "political strategy," for it undoubtedly seemed such, and such only, to those who decided it; that it appeared to their minds in any wise a question of morals I think altogether unlikely. Would it pay their party better to bid for the aid of the "Boodle Ring" by nominating a candidate against Folk, or to assure his election by making no nomination for Governor, and hope for reward in the increased vote which popular approval and gratitude might bring to the National ticket in Missouri and elsewhere?

Such was the problem; and they chose the former course. What they have said were their reasons need not detain us; what these were in fact can be a matter of conjecture only, but of conjecture founded on a wide experience. They probably believed the State's electoral vote lost anyhow, but thought the partisan excitement of a Presidential campaign would keep its supporters in line for the whole ticket, and the money and intrigues of Folk's Democratic enemies, concentrated in hostility to him alone, might draw enough Democratic votes to his competitor to give them a Republican Governor as a consolation prize. Let us note the outcome.

Roosevelt obtained 321,449 votes, or 7,357 more than McKinley, while Parker polled only 296,312, or 55,610 less than Bryan—results in themselves striking and significant, but due to general causes, evidently weakened rather than fortified in their action by the local circumstances. Walbridge for Governor polled 296,552 votes, 24,917 less than Roosevelt, and 21,352 less than Flory in 1900; while Folk received 326,652 votes, or 30,320 more than Parker, and was elected by 30,100 plurality. The open enmity of the "boodlers" far outweighed, therefore, as a source of political strength, any aid they could render: so far from saving the Governorship from a political wreck through a tacit alliance with Folk's enemies, the eminently "practical" politicians who guided the course of the Missouri Republicans exposed their party to a mortifying discomfiture in the contest for this one office at the moment of an otherwise complete and brilliant victory.

For one in public life here, the notorious hatred of men notoriously despicable and wicked is a most valuable political asset; avowed or even suspected support from such men constitutes a handicap always perilous and usually fatal to political success.

II.—The Result in Wisconsin. Political Weakness of Wealth

Wisconsin was formerly a doubtful State, but the issue of honest money seems to have made it safely Republican. As it became such, however, it became likewise the scene of a prolonged and bitter contest within the Republican party, a contest which gradually assumed the shape, so familiar in the history of ancient Greece or mediæval Italy, of a struggle between an established oligarchy and a "demagogue," suspected and accused by his adversaries of seeking to become a "tyrant." I place in quotation-marks these two question-begging terms, to show that I use them in their original and not in their modern or ethical sense. Governor La Follette has led a popular revolt in his party against its "machine," and his enemies say he aims to become an omnipotent "boss," controlling a perfected "machine" of his own; had he lived in the days and land of Pisistratus and Solon, he would have called himself a "demagogue," and been charged with meditating "tyranny."

The merits of this controversy need

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not detain us, but it has two features worthy of a moment's attention. The influences controlling the Republican organization and against which La Follette has contended were, or are generally believed to have been, wielded by certain very wealthy men and corporations, so that his fight has been, at least in popular belief, that of a man against money-bags. Moreover, the money-bags, or those who held and on occasion opened them, took the view, to which capital has been always and everywhere prone, in politics, that "all is for the best in this best of all possible worlds," or, at all events, if there be anything amiss, whoever may try to set this aright will do more harm than good; they are "stand-patters," and have left to their enemy the rôle of a professed reformer of abuses.

These two characteristics, or perhaps I should say these two aspects of the same characteristic, of the contest in Wisconsin, make its result interesting. In 1904 Roosevelt obtained there 14,110 more votes than McKinley had in 1900, Parker polled 35,127 less than Bryan received four years before: the State voted on National issues much as was to have been expected in view of its votes in the past and of the simultaneous votes of other States. The real interest of the election, however, lay in the strenuous effort made to defeat La Follette through a separate Republican nomination, and, to judge of the results of this effort, it will be more instructive to compare the Republican and Democratic votes for Governor with those of two years previously. In 1902 Mr. La Follette had polled 193,417 votes as a candidate for his present office, his Democratic competitor, Mr. Rose, polling 145,818; in 1904 the possibility of victory increased the Democratic vote to 175,301, but La Follette's also rose to 227,253, so that, with all the "bar'ls" tapped to defeat him, his plurality over Mr. Peck was actually 4,353 more than it had been over Mr. Rose.

Many persons have feared, many still fear, lest the American people be one day enslaved by its own money; I do not share these fears. I believe that, in general, for each vote bought two or more votes are lost through its purchase, and the more, the more undisguised the barter; that greater cause for concern exists lest mere enmity to productive and beneficent wealth, or the affectation of such enmity, may prove a profitable stock in trade to dangerous and noxious counterfeits of statesmen. The two victories of McKinley have, indeed, gone far to remove any reasonable apprehension of the latter peril; as to the former, it can hardly seem serious to one who knows and reflects upon the recent result in Wisconsin.

III.—Results in Minnesota and Massachusetts, in Illinois and New York. Decay of Party Discipline

A patriot, typical of a class still too common among us, said once that his ballot would be cast for the devil were his Satanic Majesty the regular nominee of his party. As I have said, such voters are yet too numerous for the public good, but their number is plainly dwindling; political managers are learning by an experience sad for them that the odor of brimstone costs votes to a candidate, however "regular." Partly through the educational effects of the Australian ballot, partly through the softening of political prejudice resulting from frequent participation in non-partisan movements such as those for Civil Service Reform and good city government, partly from the mere growth of the community in enlightenment and common sense, more and more of our citizens each year think for themselves and vote as they think, and less and less ask their respective party organizations to think for them and to tell them how to vote. Some striking illustrations of this truth are furnished by the late elections.

In Massachusetts and in Minnesota the Republican candidates for Governor were somehow unpopular; for some reasons, good or bad, or partly good and partly bad, the people didn't like either of them. Perhaps, in each case, the candidate ought to have been liked better than he was; but, however this may have been, he wasn't; and there is little doubt, indeed no doubt at all, that

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these facts were well known to the Republican managers in both States. They thought, however, that they had safe margins: McKinley had carried Minnesota in 1900 by 77,560 plurality, Van Sant, for Governor, two years later by 56,487; Massachusetts had gone Republican in 1900 by 81,869, and in 1903 elected the very Governor just defeated by 35,984. Conditions might not, indeed, have justified what Mr. Croker called a "yaller dog" ticket in either State; but such a ticket was not thought of; and the statesmen probably believed that, with the candidates offered and in a Presidential year, malcontents might be prudently asked, "Well! what are you going to do about it?"

What they did about it was to give Mr. Roosevelt almost unprecedented majorities, but to leave both the unappreciated gubernatorial candidates to the pleasures of private life. In Minnesota the Republican National ticket received 216,651 votes and 161,464 plurality, while Mr. Dunn's vote was only 141,847, and he was defeated by 6,250 plurality, his competitor polling 148,097 votes to Parker's 55,187. Governor Bates was no less unlucky; he received 1,003 less votes than he had polled the year before and 59,141 less than Roosevelt, while Mr. Douglas had 70,970 more votes than Gaston in 1903 and 68,924 more than Parker.

These results may be fruitfully compared with those in a State where the Republican candidate for Governor was no less heartily approved by the people than that for President: Illinois seems to have been such a State. Roosevelt obtained there 34,760 more votes than McKinley in 1900, while Deneen for Governor polled 54,282 more than Yates in the same year. It is true that Roosevelt's plurality was a little larger than Deneen's (305,039 against 299,149), but the overwhelming success of the latter shows none the less conclusively why candidates unlike him met elsewhere a fate so widely different.

It may be fair to here consider the experience of New York, for this seems, in some measure, a qualifying illustration, although I think it such in semblance only. In 1902 Mr. Coler, the Democratic candidate for Governor, obtained 22,988 votes less than Bryan had polled in 1900, a loss for which the decreased interest of a non-Presidential year more than fully accounts; Mr. Odell's vote fell off 156,842 from that of McKinley—sufficient proof, it was generally believed, with apparent reason, of the candidate's marked unpopularity. In 1904 Mr. Higgins was expected to suffer from Mr. Odell's indorsement, and seemingly he did: his vote was 46,269 less than Roosevelt's, 8,728 less than McKinley's four years previously; moreover, his adversary's exceeded Parker's by 48,723 and Bryan's by 54,318; nevertheless, so thorough and decisive was the discredit of the entire Democratic ticket that Higgins received no less than 80,560 plurality, a heavy falling off from Roosevelt's 175,552 and even from McKinley's 143,606, but nearly ten times what Odell obtained in 1902.

This result shows to my mind the exercise of, to say the least, no less discrimination by the people of New York than by the people of Massachusetts and of Minnesota; Herrick had not the good fortune of Douglas and Johnson, not because the voters cast their ballots more blindly in New York, but because, whatever may have been the weakness of his competitor, it was in large measure offset by his own: the people weighed the merits and demerits of both candidates, and would not be forced to choose one merely because in the other, or the other's principal backer, there was some room for improvement.

Who Are the People?

Since the time of the Three Tailors of Tooley Street, and, indeed, much longer, this has been matter of dispute in politics. When we say "the people of Massachusetts" and "the people of Missouri" wished Roosevelt for President, and yet Folk in the one case, and Douglas in the other, for Governor, we are confronted by the undeniable facts that only a comparatively small minority of the voters in either State can be shown to have entertained both these wishes.

So far as we can judge from the figures, about one citizen in thirteen

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of those who wanted Roosevelt also wanted Folk, about one in eleven of those who wanted Folk didn't want Parker. In Massachusetts the proportions were, it is true, a good deal larger: over one-fifth of Roosevelt's supporters wouldn't support Bates; considerably more than one-fourth of Douglas's wouldn't support Parker. Nevertheless, even in Massachusetts, if we add the ballots cast for both Roosevelt and Bates to those cast for both Parker and Douglas, we obtain an overwhelming majority of the entire vote polled, so that what we have described as "the will of the people" appears to be the will of but a few among the individuals composing the people.

To understand this we must remember that in the human body politic, as in the human body physical, development of will power is a specialized function. The former has always its hewers of wood and drawers of water, to do as they are bid, like the hands and feet, the arms and legs; *locomotor ataxia* is no less a malady in politics than in physiology. Other classes are its vital automata, working, as do the heart and lungs, at their several treadmills, with no thought beyond their daily tasks and daily needs, yet on whose continued labor depends its continued life. The hunger for gain of still others among its members makes them, like the stomach, in seeming blindly selfish and greedy, but, under proper control, none the less indispensable to its health; like a man, a community languishes when it loses its appetite. Finally, it has the equivalent of a brain, the seat of its political consciousness and the source of its political will, an organ which, in politics, thinks and decides for its whole mass.

The brain is always a small portion of the organism, even in man only two or three per cent., but its proportionate size grows steadily as we ascend the scale of physical being. If one man may say truthfully, or with any approach to truth, "*L'Etat, c'est moi*," the State of which he speaks has, politically, but the rudimentary brain of a fish or a reptile. Now, this language, or its equivalent in colloquial American, may be used with quite as much justification by one of our "bosses" as by the *Grand Roi*: when "the old man" is "the whole thing" in our public life; when what he says "goes" in legislation and administration; when his smile makes and his frown unmakes our legal rulers, it is a matter of detail whether he wear a crown or a plug hat, drink champagne or bad whisky, receive the homage of his courtiers in a palace or "jolly" the "boys" in a corner groggery; in the one case no less than in the other, *he* is the people's political brain; for political purposes, *he* is "the people."

Our late elections show clearly that he and his like are not the American people now, and at least tend to show, so far as we may forecast the future, that they will grow less and less the people as the people shall grow stronger and richer. For some among us our National greatness and our National wealth are causes of anxiety, even of alarm, nor would I treat such fears lightly; but the lesson of last November is a lesson of hope; on the whole, the people then chose for itself, and, on the whole, it chose wisely and well.

Certainty

By Priscilla Leonard

The road of Right has neither turn nor bend,
It stretches straight unto the highest goal;
Hard, long, and lonely?—yes, yet never soul
Can lose the way thereon, nor miss the end.

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The Twentieth-Century Crusade[1]

By Rev. Charles E. Jefferson, D.D.

I WONDER if the time has not come for the preaching of a new crusade. Does not this age demand a Peter the Hermit or a St. Bernard rather than a Gamaliel or a Thomas Aquinas? I know there is something quixotic and disconcerting in the name "crusade," for the mention of it carries the mind back to those mighty movements of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in which masses of men flung themselves upon the Holy Land in desperate and futile effort to wrest from the grip of the Saracen the tomb of our Lord. And when one thinks of the madness and superstition, the cruelties and barbarities, the disillusionment and vast catastrophes of those immortal campaigns, he feels like offering up the prayer, "From all crusades of every sort may the good Lord deliver us."

But the madness and superstition, the cruelties and barbarities, were only accidents and excrescences, creations of the Zeitgeist never to be reproduced in like combinations or similar forms. They did not constitute a part of the crusade idea. In every crusade there are only three permanent and distinguishing elements. First, a definite and clear-cut goal, rising lustrous and alluring before the eye of the mind, bewitching men in their waking hours and disturbing them even in their slumbers. Second, a passionate enthusiasm which burns up in its white flames all lesser ambitions and mean desires, and which counts no cost too great and no sacrifice too awful if only the desired goal can be attained. Third, a loyalty to one supreme commander so intense as to melt all the soldiers into a solid phalanx and send them with irresistible momentum against the foe. Those were the three fundamental features of the dazzling and unparalleled phenomena of eight centuries ago. There was a goal—the rescue of the Holy Land; there was an enthusiasm which burned up the lethargy and indifference of nations and which, eating into men's vitals, scorched even reason itself; there was loyalty to Jesus as the supreme commander, every crusader being baptized into the name which is above every name, and marching under the banner of the cross. Why should there not be a twentieth-century crusade?

If you ask what shall be the goal, my reply is, the rescue of America. America, the Republic of the West, the mightiest experiment in free government known to history, land of the Pilgrim's pride, land where our fathers died, Washington's land and Lincoln's land, our holy land, to rescue it from the hands of the Saracen, that is the ambition of the new crusade. The Saracen of the twelfth century has gone, the Saracen of the twentieth century is here. Who is he? He is the rumseller and the whoremonger, the gambler and the scurvy politician, he is the dishonest merchant and the mischief-making artisan, he is the greedy and unscrupulous capitalist and the anarchistic wage-earner, he is the bribe-giver and the bribe-taker, the law-breaker and the law-hater, the home-destroyer and the foe and enemy of Christ, he is the man who works iniquity and makes a lie. To break the power of his mailed fist, that is the object of the new crusade. America is in danger. The man is blind who doubts it. America may yet be lost; he who denies it does not keep his eyes on the swirl and trend of things. He has never put his ear to the ground and heard the roar of the subterranean fires which seethe and hiss under the thin crust of our civilization. He has never stood at the center of our great cities where vice has built her most splendid palaces, and wickedness has thrown up his long lines of forts, and where the rulers of the darkness of this world have massed their cohorts behind ramparts well-nigh impregnable, and felt upon his cheek the breath of worlds infernal, and been awed and subdued by the glitter and scarlet, the majesty

[1] From an address given by request of the Young People's Department of the Congregational Home Missionary Society at the annual meeting of the Society held at Des Moines, Iowa, October 17, 1904.

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and power, the horns and the crowns of the beast against which the Lamb must wage war. As James Russell Lowell used to say, "Democracy is only an experiment," and the experiment is not yet completed. Government of the people, by the people, and for the people has not yet demonstrated its power to solve the problems which it itself creates and to come off victorious over all its foes. The star-spangled banner may yet be torn to tatters by the fierce winds which blow from the deep caves of the human heart. To beat back the Saracen, to repair the desolations which he has made, to rescue America, the land dedicated to liberty and God and best fitted by tradition and training and environment to be the organ through which the Eternal shall proclaim his will to all the sons of men, that is the luminous and glorious goal of the crusade of our new century.

Where shall we get the fire? Let us get it where God puts it, in the hearts of the young. The hottest fires which burn upon our earth are kindled in the veins of youth, because there are objects in the world-plan of God which can be secured only by the energy of fire. Young men for action, old men for counsel, so it has been from the beginning and so it will be to the end. To set the youth of America, boys and girls, young men and maidens, marching against the Saracen, that is the supreme and crowning work of the American pulpit.

How can the work be done? By striking the militant note. A distinguished scholar and professor of Harvard University has recently declared that what our modern world most needs is a moral equivalent of war, something which will appeal to men as universally as war does, and which instead of destroying their souls will save them. Open your New Testament, O Professor, and you will find the moral equivalent of war expounded and illustrated. The Christian life is warfare. Following Christ keeps men on the battlefield. It is endlessly significant that the New Testament loves the imagery of war. Have you noticed that the men whose feet were shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace went to the barracks and the camp for some of their most graphic and effective metaphors? It was not because Paul happened to be chained for a season to a soldier of the Prætorian guard that he loved the language of soldiers, but because military phraseology finely fits the forms of great spiritual truths and expresses with adequacy and picturesqueness the processes of victorious life. The characteristic virtues of a soldier are the crowning virtues of a Christian. Listen to Paul calling to the Roman Church: "Let us put on the armor of light." He does not ask the old city who has pushed her conquests to every horizon to lay down her armor, but simply to change it. He does not beseech her to cease to be conqueror, but only to change the weapons of her warfare. What he says to the Romans he says to all. In the first of all his letters he writes to the Thessalonians: "Let us be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and for a helmet the hope of salvation." The figure was so pat and so illuminating that he kept it and used it again and again in his sermons and in his letters, expanding it and developing it until it reached its complete form in the great chapter of his letter to the Ephesians beginning, "Put on the whole armor of God." When he talks to Timothy, he speaks after the manner of a warrior: "Timothy, fight the good fight of faith." "Endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." "No soldier on service entangleth himself with the affairs of this life; that he may please him who enrolled him as a soldier." And at last, when the old hero was pushed to the wall, and the Roman executioner stood ready to do his work, he exclaimed, as though it were the proudest thing a Christian can say: "I have fought the good fight." He was not ashamed of the Gospel. In Ephesus and Corinth, in Antioch and Rome, at the center of a world which reverberated with the tread of armed men, he held up his head and was not ashamed, knowing that he was a conqueror and was in possession of a weapon which was mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds. The military manner of his speech flashes in the Greek where

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our English translation conceals it. To his beloved Philippians he writes: "The peace of God which passeth all understanding shall garrison your hearts and minds through Christ Jesus."

Where did he get this conception of Christian life as warfare? From Jesus of Nazareth. The Prince of Peace did not shrink from the imagery of war. As soon as a man was found who saw in him the Eternal Son, Christ said: "Upon this rock I will build my church, and the gates of Hades shall not prevail against it." The idea of conflict was in his mind, and though the conflict would be terrific, victory at last was sure. When men thronged him, desiring the privilege of being numbered among his followers, this is what he said to them: "What king, going to make war against another king, sitteth not down first and consulteth whether he be able with ten thousand to meet him that cometh against him with twenty thousand?" A man at the beginning of his Christian life becomes a soldier, and the virtues which will make him successful in the Christian life are those which are indispensable to a successful military commander. To his apostles, on the great day of their going forth, he said: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth: I came not to send peace, but a sword." And then, in order that he might not be misunderstood, he hastened on to explain that he meant that he had come to draw the line plain and straight, to array good men against bad men and stir up bad men against good men, so that a man's worst enemy might be living with him under the same roof. He held back nothing, but told the apostles clearly what they might expect. "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." We do not understand the word "wolf." It does not belong to our vocabulary. What do we know of wolves? We have never heard the howl of one at midnight, nor seen the blood dripping from his jaws. But every man to whom he spoke knew the meaning of the word. The wolf was the most voracious, cruel, pitiless of all the animals of Palestine. Jesus said "wolves," knowing precisely what it meant. Translated, his declaration ran: "The world will be hostile to you. Men will resist you, snap at you, put their teeth into you, tear you, if possible kill you and devour you; but do not be afraid to die on the field." He dipped brush in "hues of midnight and eclipse," and painted a picture dark enough to curdle the blood. Why? Because he knew what is in man. He knew that down in the human soul is that which goes promptly out to face danger, suffering, death. The heart is by birth heroic, and responds to the sound of trumpets. Place before the unspoiled man two roads, one strewn with roses and running out across fragrant meadows to lands abounding in comfort, ease, and pleasure; the other road steep and flinty, running up over naked crags toward a cross surmounting the place of a skull; and that which is deepest and strongest in him will choose the road which leads to the cross. If that is not true, then there is no hope of the world's redemption.

This, then, is the New Testament way of appealing to young men. We have not often enough made use of it. We have talked too much of happiness, and made the Christian life a tame and prosaic and easy thing. We have not girdled it with perils or filled it with adventure, or made it so grand and stirring as to appeal to the heroic in man. There is in the wide heart of youth a whole world of appetite and instinct and passion upon which the Church must lay her hand and make use of on God's battlefields, instincts which crave excitement and adventure, forces which are mighty in the pulling down of strongholds and the trampling of foes. Sometimes there has been too much introspection, too much emphasis upon the feelings, as though the supreme question in human life were, How do you feel? What can you tell from the feelings of youth? They are multitudinous as the sands and as changing as the waves. Oh, the ecstasies and raptures, the elations and depressions, the agonies and despairs of youth! To attempt to find God's smile or frown in the feelings, or to determine one's destiny from the ebb and flow of the emotional life, that way madness lies, and weakness, and possible moral disintegration. We have had too much of

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the introspective and not enough of the bugle and the marshaling of cohorts and the onward dash against the Saracen.

The teachers who taught us and the preachers who thrilled and lifted us in our boyhood have nearly all passed into the city whose gates are pearl. And instead of this great company of heroes and martyrs and saints we see a flood of immigrants flowing through our eastern gateways in tidal waves across the land, men of foreign speech and alien look, of curious custom and strange belief, to whom Washington is a name and Lincoln altogether unknown; and these men are taking possession of the hills and valleys of New England and of the great farms of the West, they are climbing to power in all our cities, sitting down with scant reverence to our traditions and customs in the seats of the mighty; and on this great tide of foreign life American institutions and ideals roll like ships on a sea tossed by storm. What we need is a fresh vision of God. There is still ground for hope. In the temple of our American Christianity a young man is standing. He is looking into the light which is inaccessible. Out of the glory there comes to him a voice: "Who will go?" And down deep at the center of the reply which shall fall from the young man's lips lies concealed the destiny of the Republic.

"O beautiful my country, ours once more.
. . . . . .
What were our lives without thee?
What all our lives to save thee?
We reck not what we give thee;
We will not dare to doubt thee,
But ask whatever else, and we will dare."

The Development of Tropical Resources

By David Buffum

IT needs but to take a glance at the map of the world to realize the extent of territory occupied by the tropical belt. The larger part of the great continents of South America and Africa, about half of Australia, the East and West Indies, to say nothing of many and fertile smaller islands of the sea—all these are included within its limits.

It is here that all life is the most exuberant, its conditions most favorable, and nature most persistently productive. Without straining its powers in the slightest degree, the tropical belt could feed and support the population of the entire world. Here, too, are those physical features which render human life most enjoyable and worth the living; great stretches of sunny upland where the heat of summer and the cold of winter are never known; and palm-encircled islands in sapphire seas, whose beauty, perennial plenty, and salubrity of climate are such as fairly to put to blush the Biblical description of Paradise.

That such territory would naturally seem of the utmost importance to the rest of the world is self-evident, and the different nations have always regarded it with covetous eyes. They have striven for it and occupied it at great cost of blood and treasure, and at different times civilizations have sprung up in the tropics which have been dazzling in their wealth and splendor. Perhaps the most notable example of this could be found in Hayti and Santo Domingo, where the homes of the planters were at one time the most magnificent and luxurious in the world. But these civilizations have not endured; and nearly all of those tropical sections with which we are most familiar have been again and again laid waste by internal dissensions which, in connection with other potent reasons, have formed a permanent barrier to the successful development of their resources. Meanwhile the general trend of migration has been westward and northward; and thus the tropical belt, infinitely richer than the regions which the superior white races are successfully occupying, is for the most part left in the hands of peoples who permit its vast resources to lie idle, and have neither the wish nor the power to develop them properly.

The importance of the rôle that the tropics have in the world's supplies is perhaps better illustrated in the sugar industry than in anything else. Beets,

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as a sugar crop, are so inferior to cane as to be hardly in the same scale of comparison; and I have sometimes wondered what the reflections of some inhabitant of another planet would be were he to visit the earth and note the time and money expended in making sugar from beets, while millions of acres of the finest sugar-cane land are lying unused. He would doubtless concede readily this industry's claim to be an "infant"—and an infant, too, that must be forever coddled to maintain its unnatural and uncalled-for life.

The fact is that in the great school of nature man must be pupil and not teacher; and any attempt to dispense with the services of the world's natural feeder or to locate in the north industries that nature so manifestly intended for the south must prove futile in the long run. The law of the eternal fitness of things is just as much a law, and just as operative, as that of the tides or the trade-winds, though it may be slower in enforcing itself upon the minds of men. The failure of the tropics to carry out their allotted rôle in the affairs of the world may lead to various makeshifts in other regions, but they are bound to be temporary ones. Our sugar, coffee, rubber, cocoa, tobacco, and a score of other necessities and luxuries are natural products of the tropics and cannot be produced in perfection anywhere else. Some memoranda that I made a few years ago, and which lie before me as I write, will give some idea of the extent to which we depend upon the tropics, notwithstanding the retarding influences within and without their borders. In the year 1895 the total value of our imports from all sources was $731,000,000. Of this $250,000,000 was from tropical countries. Coffee and sugar alone form $172,000,000 of this value, india-rubber and tobacco being next in importance.

Considerable as these imports appear, their insufficiency is conspicuously shown up by the wretched substitutes for rubber, sugar, and other tropical products that are in use in the north. In the matter of rubber the constant tapping of wild trees and the neglect to plant and cultivate have rapidly depleted the supply. Señor Matias Romero, the distinguished Mexican writer and statesman, says: "We used to have whole forests [of rubber-trees] . . . but india-rubber gatherers have destroyed most of them." And he adds: "I have always thought that the production of india-rubber would, before long, cease to be sufficient to supply the demand. The enormous expansion during the last few years of the cycle tire, electrical motor car, cab, and kindred industries will lead to the bestowal of increased attention on the world's rubber supply, which is so intimately associated with the existence of these industries."

It is an ill wind, however, that blows nobody good, and agriculture in the tropics, wherever industrial conditions make it possible to engage in it, is extremely profitable—so much so, indeed, that, next to revolutionizing and political wire-pulling, it is commonly regarded as the surest and speediest road to fortune. I am acquainted with a gentleman who, having little or no capital of his own, succeeded in borrowing enough money to go into coffee-raising, and his first crop put a clear profit of over $50,000 into his pocket. Other examples could be as easily cited. That so many planters are only moderately prosperous is not owing to their business itself, but to slipshod and antiquated methods of conducting it. But even these, as a rule, have a far easier time and make more money than the farmers of the north, for nature, in those regions, is long-suffering and kind.

The dazzling inducements that agriculture thus holds out have long proved alluring to the men of colder and less fruitful regions, and from time to time a great many northern men have engaged in tropical enterprises. More especially was this the case for some ten or fifteen years previous to our war with Spain, when a great number of coffee plantations, and some for growing sugar and bananas, were started with northern capital. Some of these enterprises were attended by striking success, but by far the greater number did not pay at all, and those who put money into them lost it. To one familiar with tropical conditions it was rarely difficult to account

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for these repeated failures, which in almost every instance could be charged to an ignorance or disregard of things which the native-born planter always took into careful consideration. But the effect was gradually to give the tropics what is commonly called "a black eye." It was no wonder, so it was said, that this most fruitful of the earth's regions had been so long neglected and left in the hands of people of low social efficiency. It was unhealthy; it sapped the moral as well as the vital forces; and if white people occupied it, they would deteriorate with each succeeding generation. Even as long ago as when the matter of annexing Santo Domingo to this country was under discussion, Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll said, in substance—and I remember his words so well that I think my quotation of them is almost verbatim: "We don't want Santo Domingo. I never knew a decent country where there wasn't any winter. Put a respectable Yankee in Santo Domingo, and in the next generation you will see him with long hair down his back, riding barefooted on a mule, a game-cock under each arm, going to a cock-fight on Sunday." And no less distinguished a writer than Benjamin Kidd—author of "Social Evolution" and "The Control of the Tropics"—maintains that the tropics are unfit for permanent occupation by the superior white races.

The measure of truth and untruth in these averments is of the utmost importance, for it affects the whole civilized world. Before discussing it, which I will do as fairly and impartially as I can, I think it right to say that such knowledge as I have of the tropics has been gained by personal experience and observation, and is in no degree drawn from hearsay or a mere cursory view. Acting as the agricultural examiner for associations of capitalists who sent me to investigate the possibilities for money-making in coffee, rubber, and banana culture, I have been brought into the closest touch with the agriculture and agriculturists of the regions visited, and thus afforded the best of opportunities not only for the examination of such matters as soil, climate, and the labor supply, but also to note the effect of a tropical residence both upon those who settle there and upon the descendants of former settlers.

Let us first consider the question of healthfulness. There are localities that are confessedly unhealthy, where the white races can never flourish. But, on the other hand, the clear, cool air of the tablelands furnishes an ideal white man's country—a country that for healthfulness and pleasantness of climate has no equal in the world. Of the remaining territory by far the greater part averages fully as healthy as the countries of the north, provided only that one understands its conditions and applies a corresponding judgment to his manner of living. The diseases of the tropics are sharp but few in number, fevers and bowel troubles being about all, and it is these that one must guard against. My own health while there furnishes a fair criterion, for I was doing hard work, traveling mainly by horseback for weeks together, and exposed to the fierce heat of the sun by day and very frequently to the chill of mountain or morass by night, and yet I was never ill nor even indisposed. But I never permitted myself to drink any water except when sojourning in some place where I was sure of the purity of the supply, and I constantly observed such rules as common sense would dictate in other directions.

It is worthy of emphasis, too, that to have good health and be in the tropics is to partake of life "more abundantly." In a land of sunshine, where Nature's abundance so overflows that everything she can bestow is right at hand, the warmth of color and perfume and sight and sound seems to steep the senses in a new elixir, and the joy of living is in the very air we breathe. And yet I would not be treating this part of my subject fairly did I not say that the cup that cheers can also intoxicate, and the same things which fascinate and charm and make life sweeter and fuller may lure to destruction—and this I take to be one reason why the healthfulness of the tropics is so constantly and persistently misunderstood. The temptation to excess and sensual indulgence—let any one who has lived in the tropics deny it if he can—is stronger there than here, and the consequences of yielding to it usually

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more serious. On all sides are siren voices calling, soft arms inviting to their embrace; and old standards of conduct seem, in some strange and mysterious way, to have become obliterated. Sir Henry Blake, former Governor of Jamaica, referring to the young men who, in the palmy days of the island, were sent out from England to the sugar plantations, says: "They were plunged into a fiery furnace of temptation which none but a moral hero could resist. By scores and by hundreds the yellow fever claimed them, and it is safe to say that, if men lived now as they did then, yellow fever would be a perennial scourge."

Perhaps the clearest conception of the health conditions of the tropics and their difference from those of the north can be had by simply grasping the fact that there is the region of the most powerful forces of both life and death, where Nature never gives of anything in stinted measure. For, just as the forces of life are stronger and more insistent there than here, so are death and decay more prompt and speedy; the one condition is the natural complement of the other. And he who deals with great forces must needs be more on his guard than when dealing with small ones.

I have dwelt at greater length on this matter of healthfulness because it is, of all questions connected with the tropics, the one of most vital and immediate interest and calls for the most careful elucidation. The question whether the white races can maintain their physical and mental vigor through successive generations, though scarcely less important, is more briefly and easily answered. It is true that, as a general thing, they have deteriorated, but why? In an overwhelming majority of instances, heredity, not environment, has been the cause. Wherever the whites have interbred with the aborigines or with negroes deterioration has, of course, followed, just as it would in the north or anywhere else where such practices obtained. But I have yet to find any evidence that—except in such occasional localities as are typical black man's countries—white races will deteriorate in the tropics at all, provided that the stock is kept pure. In most parts of tropical territory they can live and flourish permanently; there is no question about it.

It is clear, then, that we cannot justly charge the undeveloped condition of the tropical belt to its unhealthfulness or its inability to maintain a white population.

I do not dwell upon the political status of many tropical countries because, deplorable as this has often been, and greatly as it has paralyzed industries and restricted progress, it is not sufficient to explain a condition which is so general over so vast an extent of territory.

I have left the consideration of the labor supply till the last, because it seems to me that, while it does not fully explain the existing state of affairs in the tropics, it has more to do with it than any other one thing. The work, in countries where African slavery has prevailed, is done by negroes; in other countries by the aboriginal natives. Numerically, there is no shortage in the "laboring class" in all countries where there are negroes. But the great difficulty is that the negro is not obliged, by his necessities, to do much work—and he does not do much. His hut costs him nothing but a few days' labor; clothes, except a few rags to cover his nakedness, he does not need; his little patch of bananas and yams furnishes him with food. He has, without knowing it, a measure of the philosophy of Thoreau; he enjoys life in his way, and he intends to have ample leisure in which to enjoy it. Money, with him, is a luxury, not a necessity, and when he wants this luxury he works for it. When his wants become, as they frequently do, even a very little less simple, he is obliged to work much more, but those who know him best do not look for any more than occasional and exceptional changes in this respect.

In countries where the work is done by Indians labor is less abundant; indeed, in many of them it is scarce. A common means for compelling the Indian to labor would probably be distasteful to most northern people. The planter owns many times more acres of land than he cultivates, and the Indians dwelling upon it are obliged to come, at his bidding and at the current rate of wages, to work on his plantation. If they decline to do this, they must "move

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on," and when they cross the border of his land it is only to find themselves on another planter's territory where the conditions are exactly the same. In this way is kept up a supply of labor sufficient for the plantations now under cultivation, but there is little or no opportunity for the establishment of new ones.

In the British West Indies recourse has been had to the importation of coolies from India, and, thus far, this seems to work fairly well. But it is not illogical to suppose that, in time, the Hindoo cooly may become as independent as his negro brother, and it is hard to say how satisfactory the plan may prove as a permanent arrangement.

The question of labor is so vital a one in tropical development as to leave little doubt in my mind that when it shall have been satisfactorily disposed of in any considerable area there will be an influx of capital and enterprise such as is little dreamed of to-day. We have only to look to the past for our lesson and note the wonderful development of the West India islands, the eagerness with which men flocked to them, and the untold wealth they produced when African slavery was in force and there was no question about the supply of labor. The day of slavery is past, and we would not wish to restore it, but the need of tropical output is greater than ever before. With the advance of civilization the world has grown relatively smaller and the interdependence of different regions greater; at the present time no civilized nation could dispense with the natural products of such territory as lies north and south of it without great loss and inconvenience. And, as time passes, this fact is bound to become increasingly apparent.

In what way and how soon the different drawbacks to the development of tropical resources will be met are questions that it is beyond the power of man to answer to-day. But to any careful student of the situation it would seem that the time cannot be very far distant when there will be no alternative to their consideration, when, in the very necessities of the case, the problems will have to be solved and the great natural feeder of the world receive from other regions the thought and attention that it merits.

How a Child Learns the Music of Words

By Thomas Wentworth Higginson

THE young mother who wishes to fix a sentence permanently in a child's mind need not bid him commit it to memory or learn it as the preface to a Sunday-school lesson, since, in spite of such precautions, it may be forgotten. Let her, on the contrary, find it in a printed book, then paste over the words a thick strip of paper to conceal them; then let the book be intrusted to the child's own care, and sooner or later the sentence will be brought to light. As Confucius exclaimed, "How can a man be concealed?" so may be well exclaimed, "How can a sentence be concealed?" especially if it is considered a naughty one, and paste or glue is invoked for the purpose of concealment. I speak in my own case from vivid personal experience. When the best of mothers gave me my first book of fairy tales, three-quarters of a century ago, it contained the story of a child who had been lured away among wild animals for some purpose of vengeance; and she discreetly, when the crisis at length drew near, pasted an extinguishing fragment of paper over the final consummation, so that I did not know quite clearly what had happened to him. How many times did I ponder over that hopeless barrier, until less reverential schoolmates, gradually infringing on the corners, had made their contents at last visible in all the original enormity. The wolves, it seems, "dragged the poor child away to their cavern, full of bones and blood." How easily might these few casual words have passed out of my memory had they been left unobstructed on the page; but this conscientious attempt at suppression fixed them in my mind forever.

What was done in this case negatively

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in the way of terror is done to every imaginative child with a result of joy in the first musical words which chance to fix themselves in his memory. To many they come in the words of the church hymns. There is a dignity which is never to be forgotten in

"The spacious firmament on high,
With all the blue ethereal sky,
And spangled heavens, a shining frame,
Their great Original proclaim."

This speaks for itself and needs no concealment to make it attractive. Not less in the prose of many a psalmist are these qualities impressed. "I have been young and now am old, yet have I not seen the righteous forsaken, nor his seed begging bread;" "The morning stars sang together, and all the sons of God shouted for joy;" "Or ever the silver cord be loosed, . . . or the pitcher be broken at the fountain;" or the yet more beautiful words, "Consider the lilies of the field, how they grow; they toil not, neither do they spin;" "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and have not charity, I am nothing;" or, "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head." These passages dwell in memory, they become a part of life, and prepare the child for the unsurpassed power and beauty of English words. These also transmit themselves through hymns sung in Sunday-school, and associate sounds that are pleasant to the ear with what turn out to be fine instincts or impulses for life. Such come, for instance, from the fine roll of the generous hymn beginning—

"We have come from far and near,
Happy homes or fortunes drear,
Rich or poor, we are sure
We are all God's children here."

Simple hymns, on the whole, impress children more than the Scripture texts, because by singing them we seem to reaffirm their truth and can take them in a manner as part of our own lives.

To others who have early studied Latin, associations equally marked are found in the sweet cadences learned from the merest text-book, especially any text-book on translating the English into Latin. In many cases these text-books are made up of passages from the poets, as Virgil or Horace, given out in English and to be translated back. Again and again the boy has set before him some graceful passage which is to him a low archway through which he may look for the immeasurable beauty of words. In the old-fashioned school to which I went, the rigid schoolmaster counted it for righteousness in any boy who hunted up for himself the original Latin in some author, and held this as an equivalent to the labor of translation. Nothing, I am sure, lodged such passages more firmly in my mind or helped more to educate my ear to find a melodious cadence. Take, for instance, a passage like this: "But he, yet a boy, and as unobserved, goes here and there upon the lonely green; and dips the soles of his feet, then up to the ankle, in the playing water." I knew for myself that I was that boy; the passage spoke personal experience, and the liquidness of the Latin word *aqua*, *aura*, *unda*, became forever fascinating in my ears. It was I myself who, being twelve years old, could just touch the tender boughs from the ground:

"Alter ab undecimo tum me jam ceperat annus,
Jam fragiles poteram a terra contingere ramos."

More than half a century afterwards I used the same two lines of Virgil in dedicating a small volume to James Lowell, to recall the days when we went to school together; and he remembered the book, and the very place in school where he sat when he read it, and the very spots where he had plucked off the branches such as Virgil described.

Then came the heroic phrases: "It is Roman to do and to suffer bravely;" "He that gives himself up to pleasure is not worthy the name of a man;" "At how much is virtue to be estimated, which can neither be taken away by force nor purloined; is neither lost by shipwreck, nor by fire, nor is it changed by the alterations of seasons and of times." How these fine sentences lodged themselves in the childish mind in those days; how much nearer they were for the very foreignness in the language with which they were uttered, like that

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of new playmates who had been reared in a different realm! Yet when we turn to English, again, the very simplest object might call forth the same verbal charm, involving a music in the mere syllables which described it. Often, as I went to school in those early times, did I see the pigeons fly in and out from the dove-cote in the great barn then adjoining the stately old colonial residence at the corner of Brattle and Sparks Streets, and often did I pause to murmur over to myself the sweet dying cadence of Willis's poem of "The Belfry Pigeon," the one simple and unconscious poem he ever wrote:

"Whatever is rung on that noisy bell—
Chime of the hour or funeral knell—
The dove in the belfry must hear it well.
. . . . . .
Whatever tale in the bell is heard,
He broods on his folded feet unstirr'd,
Or, rising half in his rounded nest,
He takes the time to smooth his breast,
Then drops again with filmèd eyes,
And sleeps as the last vibration dies."

The cadence of those last two lines, the drooping fall of the last line especially, atone for all Willis's coxcombry, and show that, in spite of the English applauses that spoiled him, he was a poet at heart. Perhaps it was worth a poet's whole life to fill one child's memory with a strain of music which lasted more than seventy years. Literature itself, if the truth were told, is only attar of roses, one distilled drop from a million petals.

Criticism and the Church

By Benjamin W. Bacon

IN his "Vie de Jésus" Renan wrote: "There is one thing a theologian can never be—a historian. History is essentially disinterested. History has but one care, art and truth. The theologian has one interest; it is his dogma." Because he deemed theology and historical criticism irreconcilable, Renan left the Church. Since then the Church has been endeavoring to prove the falsity of Renan's alternative. A certain element, it is true, even among Protestants, have taken the attitude of repression: Criticism is the work of the devil. A much larger element in the Church of Rome have endeavored to commit the See of Peter to this attitude of open hostility to science, but thus far without success. Among Protestants the already immense and growing majority are committed to the opposite principle: Science is the ally of revelation; even criticism of the records, textual and higher as well, if it be really scientific, merely makes clearer the facts, and the revelation lies in the facts, not in the record. The application of the principle in the case of the conflict over Genesis and geology was so salutary and met such general acceptance that in the Protestant world at least it was comparatively easy to apply it again in the case of Moses *versus* critical history. For the last forty years Protestant scholarship has been gradually shifting the ground of Biblical scholarship from a subjective to an objective point of view. Exegesis is no longer exclusively grammatical and philological; it is now historical. We seek the writer's meaning in the light of his period, not necessarily for adoption, but as a means for the framing of our own philosophy of religion. The four Gospels are to us four reports, illustrative of so many distinct conceptions, in different places at successive periods, of the great drama whose actual course remains to be reconstructed. The Epistles are cross-sections of the life of the Church in various stages of its development. The whole Bible, scientifically speaking, is a collection of living specimens for the study of spiritual biology; the material it affords from various stages in the development of the leading religion of the world is to the theologian of to-day the most important, beyond comparison, of the elements by which he studies "the phenomenology of the spirit." What else can criticism do but help him? If textual, it discriminates later alteration or accretion from original text. If higher, it is documentary, and

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classifies the material with relation to the periods and circumstances from which it emanates; or it is historical, and discriminates the actual occurrences from the varying conception of the occurrences and their significance put forth by various writers at various intervals. Criticism is a means for going behind the records in closer approximation to the truth. If we are in sympathy with Jesus' rebuke of scribal worship of the letter, "Ye search the scriptures, because ye think that in them ye have eternal life; and they are they which testify of me; and ye will not come to me, that ye might have life," why not use criticism that we may come at the life, the living word of God?

Such has been the reasoning of progressive Protestantism in the greatest transition the Church has had to accomplish since the Reformation. And though we may have remained somewhat superciliously ignorant of it, such has been the reasoning also of an element of the Roman Church which makes up much in scholarship for lack of numbers.

Few developments in the religious life of our time can be of greater interest to the discriminating mind than the contrast of Harnack and Loisy, each a thorough and genuine scholar and brilliant writer in the prime of life, each a consecrated and earnest Christian, at the same time devoted by most ardent conviction to the principles of his own national Church, each profoundly committed to the application of historical criticism in its most scientific, most untrammeled form to the sacred writings. And yet, as Loisy at least is careful to make us understand, the two stand at opposite poles in their whole conception of the relation of criticism to the Church and to the development of Christianity.

Of Harnack, the justly admired and brilliant leader of German theological thought, the unrivaled master in his field of ecclesiastical history, the ornament of the great Protestant University of Berlin, it is needless to speak. His recent visit to America has confirmed what seemed the extravagant eulogies of those who reported to us the mingled eloquence and scholarship of his lectures. Liberals are as sure of his perfect loyalty to the principles of fearlessly scientific criticism as conservatives are eager to catch from his lips an utterance appreciative of tradition. The Abbé Alfred Loisy is almost unknown to us, although he has scarcely permitted a year to pass since the publication, in 1890, of his Doctor's thesis on the Canon of the Old Testament, without some notable contribution to Biblical science of Old and New Testament. The latest, his voluminous commentary on the Fourth Gospel, is a masterpiece of criticism and exegesis, the most important study of the subject of our time. And Loisy's criticism is as completely untrammeled as Harnack's. In results it is much more radical. We do not wonder, as we read his perfectly fearless utterances on the non-historical characacter of the books attributed to Moses, the development of religious teaching in the Bible, and the like, that on December 16, 1903, his "Religion of Israel," "Gospel Studies," "Gospel and the Church," and "Fourth Gospel" were put on the Index, Loisy himself having previously been deposed from his professorship and silenced.

And yet it is true, as he himself urges, that he is the real and consistent Catholic of Catholics, as genuinely and sincerely so as Harnack is the ardent admirer and follower of Luther. He tells us of himself, in his "Round about a little Book," that "in applying himself to the history of dogmas, he chose as his guide Cardinal Newman, and took up as his guide that writer's theory of Christian development to oppose the systems of MM. Harnack and Sabatier." Thus when Harnack's popular treatise, "What is Christianity?" appeared in German, English, and French, Loisy was ready. In his "Gospel and the Church" he makes clear the fundamental principles of his own criticism in contrast with what he regards as the principles of Harnack, and of Protestant criticism in general. "Herr Harnack does not conceive Christianity as a seed, at first a plant in potentiality, then a real plant, identical from the beginning of its evolution to the final limit, and from the root to the summit of the stem, but as a fruit, ripe, or rather overripe, that must

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be peeled to reach the incorruptible kernel; and Herr Harnack peels his fruit with such perseverance that the question arises if anything will remain at the end."

In homely metaphor, it is indeed a case of nut *versus* onion. Loisy is supremely unfettered in his criticism because each phase of the religious growth is to him divine and perfect for its own period; the function of criticism is simply to penetrate to the vitalizing spirit which pervades the whole. Does the Fourth Gospel appear a second-century fiction? What of it, so long as the second century was therein giving the best expression in its power to its conception of the Gospel drama and its significance? And what right has Protestantism to reject all save two of the seven sacraments of the Church, and yet retain baptism, which differs from later ecclesiastical loan institutions only in point of age, and the borrowing of the rite from the disciples of the Baptist?

Harnack, according to Loisy, removes layer after layer of the vital growth only to reject it as worthless, until the residuum be reached of the simple doctrine of the divine fatherhood—that is Christianity, and nothing more!

But what if the effort of Protestant criticism be rather to discriminate that vitalizing germ or dynamic of growth which enabled the religion of Jesus to assimilate, without itself being assimilated, all the worthy elements of Jewish and Hellenic religious life from Paul's day to our own; not to reject all that can be classed as accretion, but to discover in it that which fitted it for assimilation? Not all development is progress. Historical criticism must help to discriminate evolution from degeneration. If the Roman Church has a Loisy, it should be the purer, the more true to its first impetus, for his historical criticism, the less inclined to hide the primal and essential under the rubbish of superstition—if, indeed, it do not crush and silence him by the iron hand of priestly control!

The theologian of to-morrow, it is plain, will be a historian or nothing. But historical criticism will not be wielded on the assumption that there is nothing good save that which was in the beginning; nor, conversely, that all is good which was and is now; but in the conviction that the essence of our faith is that which was in the beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world without end. Amen.

Henry Clay[1]

"A PROPER biography of Mr. Clay," wrote James Parton nearly forty years ago, "would be one of the most entertaining and instructive of works. It would embrace the ever-memorable rise and first triumphs of the Democratic party; the wild and picturesque life of the early settlers of Kentucky; the War of 1812; Congress from 1806 to 1852; the fury and corruption of Jackson's reign; and the three great compromises which postponed the Rebellion. All the leading men and all the striking events of our history would contribute something to the interest and value of the work." Parton was right in feeling that the career of Henry Clay was so closely interwoven with the history of his times that the one cannot properly be estimated without in large measure retelling the other: the half-century that saw Henry Clay a foremost figure in the public eye was a period of momentous importance; witnessing critical events in the history of the youthful Republic, it also witnessed the genesis of policies that, potent in effect at the time they came into being, have exerted a still more powerful influence in the molding and directing of the modern United States; above all, it witnessed the birth and steady growth of the spirit of nationality, of the spirit that led men to realize that the United States was not, as so many seem to have supposed, merely a congeries of commonwealths united by the bond of a compact that might be loosed at will, but an indivisible whole, self-contained and possessing in itself the attributes of sovereignty.

[1] *The True Henry Clay.* By Joseph M. Rogers. The J. B. Lippincott Company, Philadelphia.

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Henry Clay not only played a leading part in the mighty drama of these fifty years, but in himself embodied the transition from the old to the new. All this, together with the significance of Parton's formulation, his present biographer has well apprehended, and, if presenting a work markedly deficient in point of literary quality, gives an account of the great Kentuckian that is vivid, impartial, and philosophic, and that assists us to place him correctly among the founders of the United States of the twentieth century.

Although writing as an ardent admirer, Mr. Rogers makes no attempt to blink at Clay's weaknesses—his lack of fixity of purpose, his inconsistency, his latitudinarianism of thought and life. But he holds, and with justification, that what there was in him of fault and error has been unduly magnified, just as that which was praiseworthy has been exaggerated, until it is difficult to perceive the real Henry Clay in the web of eulogy and libel that has been woven about him. Undoubtedly Mr. Rogers goes too far when he asserts that "Henry Clay is fast becoming a mythical personage;" but also undoubtedly the present generation knows all too little about him, and, as Mr. Rogers writes, much that is fallacious must be cleared away before it is possible to know him for what he was. It has been said, for instance, that Clay "originated nothing and established nothing." In the clearing away, however, if any fact stands supreme it is that, whatever his defects and however unconsciously, Henry Clay built well for the future of his country. The economic development that has compelled the admiration of the world had its beginnings in the policies of internal improvements and tariff protection to which he stood, if not as father, at least as sponsor. Even in the compromises, for which Mr. Rogers reads "surrenders," whereby the "irrepressible conflict" was temporarily averted, we who are, through the passage of time, in a position to judge more largely, may perceive that Clay's labors inured to the benefit of the Republic—for, side by side with the postponing of the struggle, the sense of natural solidarity was growing apace, the Nation was the better equipping itself to cope with rebellion. And in the very name of "the great Compromiser," by which Henry Clay has come down in history, may be discerned both the lines in which he was cast and the base on which his chief title to fame rests—his master passion of love for the Union, his preachment of patriotism. Mr. Rogers holds that perhaps more than to Webster we owe to Henry Clay that love of country "which is now so universal, but which in his day was a divided sentiment." This cannot readily be admitted, but it may be cheerfully granted that the debt we owe to Webster we owe in kind to Clay.

The key to his career, to his failures and successes alike, Mr. Rogers finds in his profoundly emotional nature. "While physically and mentally Clay was a great strong man, temperamentally he was constituted like a woman." This observation is of the most direct value to those who, knowing not the spell of his presence and the magic of his voice, must incline to marvel at the enthusiasm provoked by the mere name of Clay. In the magnetism of his personality he appears to have exercised the influence peculiar to a beautiful, brilliant, impulsive, ardent woman. In this connection may be cited Webster's remark that "he had always believed that if Henry Clay had been a woman, and he (Webster) had met her in early life, they would have loved, quarreled, and married, and probably quarreled afterwards; but he could not conceive how he might, in any case, have regretted the event." Like a woman, again, Henry Clay, having none of the profundity of Webster, possessed a seeming instinct of unerring vision, but "as soon as he began to argue with himself, consult personal or other interests, he became mentally and morally befogged." Hence the shifting, the temporizing that amounted to a "psychological infirmity"—infirmity costing Clay so much when the public was called to measure up its idol as Presidential timber. Five times a candidate for National headship, twice rejected by his party and thrice by the people, it is plain to us that he was far better loved than trusted. However popular he may have been, his opportu-

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nism was decidedly not popular. Yet we may believe that it was an honest opportunism, and, despite all he said and did in his efforts to attain the Presidency, admit the sincerity of his immortal "I would rather be right than President."

Nineteenth-Century Germany[1]

THE third volume of Mr. Bigelow's History of the German Struggle for Liberty takes the narrator from 1815, after Waterloo, to 1848—two dates of great meaning for every German. Mr. Bigelow describes how Germany gloried in Napoleon's defeat, sank into apathy under the police administration of the Holy Alliance, and finally, to avenge outraged manhood, inaugurated the Revolution of 1848. Though in the period covered by the present volume there is no such succession of stirring events as characterized the preceding volume, every student will agree that the years between 1815 and 1848 marked a no less impressive period of German history. The real leaders of this period were not a king and a prime minister, but a professor and a turnvater. In 1819 Turnvater Jahn, though so monarchical that he would not allow his soldiers to sing Schiller's "Freies Leben," was carried off to a dungeon, while Professor Arndt, of Bonn, author of a great German national song, found his house broken open, his papers seized, and himself haled off to be for twenty years under police surveillance. As Mr. Bigelow says:

> The list of eminent, respectable, and most loyal monarchical Germans who were seized, sent to prison, or exiled would include names of which any healthy society would be proud. . . . America is grateful that among those was the distinguished publicist Francis Lieber . . . who took refuge in the United States and is gratefully remembered by students for his "Civil Liberty and Government."

The succession of biographical sketches and estimates of such patriots as Blum, Jahn, Fritz Reuter, and others, stands in marked contrast with the sketches and estimates of Frederick William III., Frederick William IV., and of Metternich. Concerning the two monarchs Mr. Bigelow's criticism is unsparing:

> We have to tell of a nation writhing in torment under the short-sighted administration of two Prussian kings whom the German school-boy of to-day is educated to regard as illustrious, but whom we cannot but think enemies of Germany.

The German school-boy thinks as he does, according to Mr. Bigelow, because a man may not speak of the rulers of Germany, past or present, with that freedom which he would use in discussing any other subject.

> In England the historical writer is free to publish the truth about his royal house. In France there is no dynastic influence to appease. The American historian is still more free. But in Germany, while the utmost independence is tolerated, nay, encouraged, in the fields of science, speculative philosophy, and even theology, the moment that the professor impinges upon the art of governing or the merits of those occupying a throne, he feels himself on dangerous ground.

It has been said that there is not a single German history of the nineteenth century which is reasonably free of bias or of a bigoted loyalty. If any history written in German impresses us as having a tendency in the liberal direction, however, it is that of Dr. Streckfuss. Himself a hero of the Revolution of 1848, he has known well how to combine the strong, pungent, sturdy fiber of a typical German nature with the skill of a born teller of stories, whether their period lies in one century or another. But especially does he show his story-teller's power when he describes the events of the middle years of the last century, in which he bore his protester's part. In the Streckfuss history, as in Mr. Bigelow's, we have a welcome background of various descriptions against which the great political and court figures of Germany

[1] *History of the German Struggle for Liberty.* By Poultney Bigelow. Illustrated with Portraits. Three volumes. Vol. III., 1815–48. Harper & Brothers, New York.
Fünf Hundert Jahre Berliner Geschichte. Von Adolph Streckfuss. Zwei Bände. Verlag von Albert Goldschmidt, Berlin.
The Correspondence of William I. and Bismarck. With Other Letters from and to Prince Bismarck. Translated by J. A. Ford. Two volumes. Frederick A. Stokes Company, New York.

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are projected; in Mr. Bigelow's case, some critics even opine that the pages devoted to Tocqueville and Mazzini and Kossuth are rather beside the mark in the narration of purely German history. In our opinion, however, the knowledge of certain great contemporary personalities in the political life of other countries brings out in sharper contrast and distinction those figures which occupy the middle of the German stage. The histories of Mr. Bigelow and Dr. Streckfuss have another quality in common—that of telling us a great deal about prominent people in their private as well as in their public life. We see the people in great part without their cumbersome court clothes; they move, speak, and act as do ordinary human beings of our own day; and, according to both historians, they certainly had not only ordinary but very extraordinary human frailties. We know of no more direct and personal account of the history of Berlin for half a millennium—and that was often the history of Germany—than may be found in Dr. Streckfuss's admirable but, alas! too closely printed pages. If in matter the anecdotal forges to the fore, the author's manner fits it; his style is vigorous and sometimes almost unconventional. It is always entertaining, and delights us by its remoteness from any dry-as-dust "historical manner." His book deserves translation. It would certainly further a better understanding in this country, not only of German history, but also of German character. As before hinted, the work is especially strong in its description of the period between the battle of Waterloo and the German Revolution of 1848. In that year a loyal, thrifty, peaceful, and monarchically inclined people drove the Prince of Prussia, later Emperor William I. of Germany, out of the country.

It is interesting to know that in 1848 the contrast between German agriculture and industry, now so acute, had already begun. In April of that year, as we learn from this admirable translation of "The Correspondence of William the First and Bismarck," the Iron Chancellor wrote concerning the Landtag that "the final sitting was held day before yesterday, after I alone had protested, in a long speech, in the interests of the agricultural portion of the country, against Hansemann's extravagance in favor of industry."

This correspondence is but another evidence that the work of 1848 was only half done. Even in 1852 Otto von Manteuffel wrote to Bismarck: "I regard a constitutional system, where majorities have the dominion, as anything but Protestant." Indeed, these "other letters" from and to Prince Bismarck, which accompany the royal correspondence, are of greater interest, because the letters are more spontaneous. The first show the condition of the court; these reveal the conditions of the people. And what a host of notable letter-writers cross the stage! First of all the Emperor, with his Chancellor, of course, then the Crown Prince, the Hohenlohes, Manteuffels, Bülows, Gortschakoff, Andrassy, Schleinitz, Roon, Motley, Virchow, and many others.

Out of all this correspondence the real Bismarck appears almost a different Bismarck than we have known from his own "Reflections and Reminiscences," or his "Love Letters," or from the various biographies of him—Mr. Lowe's, Mr. Headlam's, Mr. Stearns's, Mr. Jacks's, M. Andler's, Herr Busch's. We here see Bismarck the letter-writer. We here see Bismarck the diplomat. Of course some of the letters show traces of editing, and this is avowedly a selected correspondence, selected first of all by the writer himself, who, we know, chose from the piles of his correspondence only those letters which were intended to be printed after his death. The work is thus confessedly fragmentary and of uneven value. We could dispense with certain notes of congratulation and thanks for the privilege of reading certain letters omitted which the internal evidence of the rest of the book shows would have been extremely instructive and possibly racy reading. Why should the book's title, then, be "*The* Correspondence," etc.? But enough remains to show to us not only the policy of an empire-maker, but the character of that empire-maker. Bismarck was bound to make the empire even if he had to do some

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incidental wrong to others. We discern in the grim founder of German unity a man bound to break down all opposition, a man who could be unscrupulous in method if necessary, a man who could descend to bitternesses and littlenesses in railing at his enemies, a man who was not above certain small and mean jealousies of his co-laborers.

These volumes are another proof of the fact that Bismarck's influence with the old Kaiser was largely due to that club which the Chancellor held over the King by threatening to retire if not permitted to have his way. As early as 1863 this was evident, and for the next quarter of a century it made its appearance at fairly regular and frequent intervals. Of course the excuse of ill health was worked for all it was worth. On the other hand, the Emperor is shown to be often complaining because his independent Chancellor had left him in the dark about certain important matters. Under circumstances like these, in order to carry his point, Bismarck had to show not only an Italian hand but sometimes his own stout German fist.

Books of the Week

This report of current literature is supplemented by fuller reviews of such books as in the judgment of the editors are of special importance to our readers. Any of these books will be sent by the publishers of The Outlook, postpaid, to any address on receipt of the published price, with postage added when the price is marked "net."

Beautiful Possibility (A). By Edith Ferguson Black. The Union Press, Philadelphia. 5×7¾ in. 330 pages. 90c., net. (Postage, 10c.)

Directory of Institutions and Societies Dealing with Tuberculosis in the United States and Canada (A). Illustrated. Compiled by Lilian Brandt. Published by the Committee on the Prevention of Tuberculosis of the Charity Organization Society of the City of New York, New York. 6×9¼ in. 263 pages.

Early Eastern Christianity: St. Margaret's Lectures, 1904, on the Syriac-Speaking Church. By F. Crawford Burkitt. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×8¼ in. 228 pages. $2.

It is far Eastern Christianity with which these lectures are concerned, not that of the Greek and other Eastern Churches within the ancient Roman world. Its chief seat was Edessa, in the Euphrates valley, the ancient "Ur of the Chaldees," the fatherland of Abraham. Here was a chief seat of Oriental learning, and a seminary which in the fourth and fifth centuries supplied Mesopotamia and Persia with Christian pastors. Here, perhaps, in the fourth century, originated the apocryphal letter to Jesus of Abgarus, King of Edessa. Into this unfamiliar field these lectures conduct the reader, through an interesting account of the Bible, the theology, and the internal life of a long-extinct but once flourishing and distinctively characterized Church.

French Home Cooking Adapted to the Use of American Households. By Bertha Julienne Low. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. 4¾×8 in. 332 pages.

Glossary of Words, Phrases, Names, and Allusions in the Works of English Authors, Particularly of Shakespeare and His Contemporaries. By Robert Nares, A.M., F.R.S., F.A.S. New Edition, with Considerable Additions both of Words and Examples. By J. O. Halliwell, F.R.S., and Thomas Wright, F.S.A. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×8¾ in. 981 pages. $3, net.

A new edition of a valuable reference-book. One is rejoiced to open at least one book of this kind which uses legible type.

Harmony of the Gospels for Historical Study (A). By William Arnold Stevens and Ernest Dewitt Burton. (Third Edition, Revised.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 6½×8½ in. 283 pages.

Before the appearance of the present edition this "Harmony" had been recognized as a standard work, and has been commended as such by The Outlook. Its plan attempts no reconstruction of the order of events in the Gospels, but rather to discover and use this as the basis for such final arrangement as Biblical criticism may ultimately determine.

Historical Geography of Bible Lands. By John B. Calkin, M.A. The Westminster Press, Philadelphia. 6×9¾ in. 196 pages.

History of Carleton College (The): Its Origin and Growth, Environment and Builders. By the Rev. Delavan L. Leonard, D.D. The Fleming H. Revell Co., New York. 5×8 in. 421 pages.

History of Civilization, which Includes a History of Life and also a History of Ideas (The). By Julian Laughlin. Illustrated. Published by the Author, St. Louis, Mo. 6¾×9½ in. 526 pages.

Holy Roman Empire (The). By James Bryce, D.C.L. (A New Edition, Enlarged and Revised Throughout.) The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×8 in. 575 pages. $1.50, net.

Reserved for later notice.

Home Ideals. By Wayland Hoyt, D.D., LL.D. Griffith & Rowland Press, Philadelphia. 4½×7½ in. 115 pages.

These short essays on a great and vital subject are sensible and practical, a good "tract for the times."

Home Mechanic (The): A Manual for Industrial Schools and Amateurs. By John Wright. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 345 pages. $2.50, net.

An English book, well equipped with diagrams and cuts, and carefully designed to

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teach the use of tools and the construction of machines.

In the Name of Liberty: A Story of the Terror. By Owen Johnson. The Century Co., New York. 5×8 in. 406 pages. $1.50.

A rather unusually spirited tale dealing with a subject that never loses its fascination as a background for passion, tragedy, danger, and escape—the French Revolution. We have seen a list of one hundred romances dealing with this period, and have little doubt that the list might be doubled. Mr. Johnson has created two or three flesh-and-blood characters, has put them into trying crises, and has made them work out their own moral salvation or ruin as they respond or fail to respond to the test. The book has life and energy.

John Bunyan. By W. Hale White. Illustrated. (Literary Lives.) Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 5×7¾ in. 222 pages. $1, net.

An interesting and well-written biography, with so much of quotation from Bunyan as to give it some of the characteristics of an autobiography. But it lacks background. The picture of the times is inadequate. Less space devoted to an analysis of John Bunyan's allegories, more to a portraiture of John Bunyan's times, would have made a book both more interesting and more valuable. The analysis of Puritanism in the last chapter may serve as a reply to Matthew Arnold's analysis, but it is not adequate, and seems like an afterthought to the book. Nor do we share the pessimism of the last three sentences in the book: "We cannot bring ourselves into a unity. The time is yet to come when we shall live by a faith which is a harmony of all our faculties. A glimpse was caught of such a gospel nineteen centuries ago in Galilee, but it has vanished." We think, on the contrary, that the religion of to-day, with all its defects, is much more Christlike in its essential spirit than was that of either Cavaliers or Puritans, of either Laud or Bunyan.

Journalisten (Die): A Comedy. By Gustav Freytag. Edited by Leigh R. Gregor, B.A., Ph.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. 4¼×6¾ in. 231 pages. 45c.

Letters of William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford, 1825–1901. Edited by William Holden Hutton, D.D. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 428 pages. $4, net.

This volume outlines the life as well as contains its self-expression in the letters of one who was esteemed by those who best knew him "a great Bishop," conspicuous for learning, judgment, and kindness, a truly great-hearted man. More than as a prelate of the Anglican Church Dr. Stubbs will be known as a historian. What John Richard Green was for English history, Williams Stubbs was for the history of the British Constitution, on which he wrote the work most widely read. His intercourse with leaders of his Church and nation is revealed in these letters, in which his personal characteristics as a Christian pastor, an ecclesiastical statesman, a scholar, a wit, a friend, combine in the portrait of a strong, sincere, and faithful man.

Millionaire Baby (The). By Anna Katharine Green. Illustrated. The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, Ind. 5×7½ in. 358 pages. $1.50.

The abduction of a child is made the center around which the author first winds and then unwinds an intricate mesh of crimes and clues. As a detective story it is ingenious; as fiction in any other sense it is worthless.

Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses. By Henry Sidgwick. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 374 pages.

The many-sided activity of the late professor of moral philosophy at Cambridge is strikingly represented in this collection of essays and addresses. Sixteen in number, they take for theme subjects of an ethical, sociological, economic, educational, and purely literary interest, in all of which domains of thought Henry Sidgwick was well qualified to speak. Probably the essays that will be most warmly welcomed by the many who cherish his memory are the literary, for it was in literary criticism that the characteristics which stamped him as one of the finest thinkers of his generation best found expression. But in all the papers herein included these characteristics are palpably apparent—the intellectual sincerity, the open-mindedness, the faculty of acute analysis, the precision of statement, the discriminating taste that were so emphatically his. Undoubtedly the subtlety of his reasoning and his aversion to general statement make some of his essays, as his larger writings, rather difficult reading. Nor will the student lack occasion to dissent from opinions expressed. But he cannot fail to be stimulated to fresh points of view, cannot fail to find his mental horizon considerably enlarged. An idea of the varied contents of this helpful volume may be conveyed by a few chapter titles: "Ecce Homo" (a criticism of J. R. Seeley's study of the life of Jesus), "The Poems and Prose Remains of Arthur Hugh Clough," "Shakespeare's Methods," "Shakespeare and the Romantic Drama," "Bentham and Benthamism in Politics and Ethics," "The Scope and Method of Economic Science," "The Economic Lessons of Socialism," "The Relation of Ethics to Sociology," "The Theory of Classical Education."

My Little Book of Prayer. By Muriel Strode. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 4¼×6¼ in. 56 pages.

Napoleon Myth (The). Translated by Henry Ridgely Evans. Illustrated. The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago. 6×9¼ in. 65 pages.

Our readers may remember a Russian folklore story about Napoleon, translated for The Outlook by Mr. George Kennan some time ago. That was a real Napoleon myth; Pérèz's satire, "The Grand Erratum," long since out of print, in its English form at least, and here reproduced, was a purely artificial myth, or rather an attempt in fiction to prove that Napoleon himself was a myth, the argument being that all human testimony is fallible and (as applied by Dr. Paul Carus in an introduction) that the Bible

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is a mixture of fact and fancy. Whatever may be one's views as to this point, all must agree that Pérèz leaves the impression of being clever and ingenious rather than that of one who presents a logical argument.

New Second Music Reader. By James M. McLaughlin and W. W. Gilchrist. (Educational Music Course.) Illustrated. Ginn & Co., Boston. 6×7¼ in. 122 pages. 30c.

Old Florence and Modern Tuscany. By Janet Ross. Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7½ in. 229 pages. $1.50, net.

Mr. Carmichael and Mr. Hewlett have been enlightening us as to Tuscany; now comes Mrs. Ross in a smaller volume but with almost equal information, especially as to the Tuscan peasants, among whom she has lived for over thirty years—that peasant who still proudly speaks his pure "lingua Toscana" in a "bocca Toscana"—the Tuscan tongue as spoken by a Tuscan mouth, no matter what the arrogant Roman south of him may have to say as to the authoritative character of the "bocca Romana." The pride of the Tuscan in his speech seems also reflected in his opulent manner of life. While the rich, fruitful country saves him from beggary, he has a cheerful willingness to work not found further south, and he manifests a spontaneous generosity towards all mankind. The result is, as Mrs. Ross reminds us, that in Tuscany there are no almshouses or poor-houses, save in the chief towns, and that most villa proprietors and managers set aside one or two days in the week when alms are distributed to all who come and ask. The ancient system of half and half tenure, the proprietor finding the capital and the peasant the labor, is also described by the author, who does not fail to point out the strong bond of affection as well as of interest which unites the peasant families living from one generation to another on certain great estates to the owners of those estates. She tells us about the vintaging, the oil-making, the agriculture, and we see again the very methods used to-day which Virgil described as in use in his day. While we learn more about modern Tuscany than about old Florence—that mediæval town which never loses its fascination—Mrs. Ross's account is noteworthy, although for a more exhaustive treatment one will turn to the volumes by Mr. Gardner, M. Yriarte, and Mrs. Oliphant.

On Holy Ground: Bible Stories with Pictures of Bible Lands. By William L. Worcester. Illustrated. The J.B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia. 6×9¼ in. 492 pages.

It may seem a commendable feature of this new series of Bible stories for children that each one is introduced by an explanatory summary in larger type. The illustrations are copious and good.

Parsifal: An Ethical and Spiritual Interpretation. By R. Heber Newton. The Upland Farms Alliance, Oscawana-on-Hudson, New York. 6×9½ in. 66 pages.

A homily, not a critique. Those who wish to get an ethical and religious interpretation will find it here well expressed from one point of view. Those who wish to understand better the qualities of "Parsifal" as a work of art will doubtless look elsewhere. Those who object to "Parsifal" altogether, on the ground that it is a preachment thinly disguised as a work of art, will probably not read this white-bound booklet, but will welcome it as an unconscious witness on their side.

Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne (The). In 6 vols. Harper & Bros., New York. 5½×8½ in. Limited Edition. $40.

Reserved for later notice.

Presence of God (The). By Chester Wood. The Young Churchman Co., Milwaukee, Wis. 6×9½ in. 62 pages.

Princess in Calico (A). By Edith Ferguson Black. The Union Press, Philadelphia. 4½×7 in. 140 pages. 75c., net.

Quintin Hogg: A Biography. By Ethel M. Hogg. Illustrated. (Second Edition.) E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 419 pages. $3, net.

The life of this British philanthropist is a lesson on the opportunities of useful work for the children of the poor, especially in great cities. Mr. Hogg was an early beginner in this line. Coming from school at Eton to the post of errand-boy in a London merchant's office, his heart went out at once to the beggarly street boys. Two of these he persuaded to let him teach them to read, with the Bible for text-book, by the light of a candle stuck in a bottle. Out of this grew the London Polytechnic, on which Mr. Hogg ultimately spent half a million dollars. To this he devoted his life, "the boy's friend," with a boy's heart to the end—"a life every day of which," says the Duke of Argyll, "can be looked back upon as hearty, manly, and useful." In particular, the story of his early days in the City, when he was barely of age, is an extraordinary record of a love for the lowest as devoted as that of a canonized saint.

Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth. By A. C. Bradley. The Macmillan Co., New York. 5½×9 in. 498 pages. $3.25.

Those acquainted with Dr. Bradley's previous work as a commentator will anticipate an intellectual treat from this his latest volume, and will find themselves in no wise disappointed. The originality, the analytical ability, the poetic perception of which he has already shown himself the possessor, combine to the attainment of the purpose for which he sets himself to study anew the four tragedies, "Hamlet," "Othello," "King Lear," and "Macbeth"—that purpose, as expressed in his own words, being "to increase our understanding and enjoyment of these works as dramas; to learn to apprehend the action and some of the personages of each with a somewhat greater truth and intensity, so that they may assume in our imagination a shape a little less unlike the shape they wore in the imagination of their creator." To the single task of interpretation he accordingly devotes himself, examin-

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ing each of the tragedies individually, after a preliminary inquiry into such questions germane to all four as Shakespeare's conception of tragedy and the form in which he expressed that conception. Into these as into all phases of his task he throws himself with enthusiasm. If he is not always convincing, he is always helpful, the sum total of his efforts being to produce a work which is really a welcome and distinctly useful addition to the already voluminous literature on the subject.

Thoughts for the Occasion, Fraternal and Benevolent. Compiled by Franklin Noble, D.D. E. B. Treat & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 576 pages. $2.

Tuscan and Venetian Artists (The): Their Thought and Work. By Hope Rea. (New and Enlarged Edition.) Illustrated. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. 5×7¾ in. 182 pages. $1.50, net.

Many fairly good illustrations reinforce this volume's interesting text, and the text itself has received admirable treatment from the printer. The book may be recommended to those whose sympathy has not yet been aroused as it should be for the art of Tuscany and Venetia. In Tuscan art the author takes Fra Angelico as a typical idealist, Signorelli as a typical realist, in considering the relation between imagination and reality in art. From this it is a natural step to the fusion of the two influences as seen in certain aspects of Raphael's work and also in the art of Venice. Another chapter has to do with the artists considered as story-tellers, Giotto, Duccio, Carpaccio, and Raphael having special mention. Even more interesting is the chapter which informs us that originality of subject was not considered by Italian artists, that the only originality lay in treatment, the subject being determined by tradition. The most important of all traditional subjects was of course the Crucifixion, and in representations of this scene our critic puts two questions: (1) Was the artist intending to depict a theological aspect of what he considered the culminating point in the scheme of the universe? or (2) Was he trying to draw a dramatic picture of a historical event? Just here is where the Tuscan school is peculiarly distinct from the Venetian. The theological representation was the favorite among the Tuscan artists—we remember the Crucifixions of Fra Angelico and Perugino, for instance. For the dramatic representations, on the other hand, we must go to Venice, recalling especially Tintoretto's masterpiece, certainly also one of the world's masterpieces. Such a little book of criticism as this is always needed, not only for the unthinking tourist or student, but sometimes also for the thinking.

Walter Pieterse: A Story of Holland. By Multatuli. Translated by Hubert Evans, Ph.D. Friderici & Gareis, New York. 4½×7½ in. 303 pages.

Walter is in a way a Dutch "Sentimental Tommy," and the growth of his vivid imagination and literary aspiration among rather sordid surroundings and stolid people is told with minuteness and perhaps a little overelaborated humor. "Multatuli" is not exactly a Dutch Dickens, but he has some Dickensy qualities.

Correspondence

Letters addressed to the Editors of The Outlook, to receive any attention whatever, must in all cases be accompanied by the name and address of the writer. Names will not be published if a request to that effect is made by the writer, but no attention, either personal or editorial, can be paid to anonymous communications.

Railway Rates and the Government

To the Editors of The Outlook:

The weakness of Mr. Morton's "Railway Rate" proposition, in his article in The Outlook of January 14, lies in his assumption that if the right sort of law was passed the railroads would obey it. The trouble isn't in the laws, but in the roads. They break the laws we do have; why suppose that they will obey laws we may have?

Discriminations have been expressly forbidden for twenty years; they have never ceased; they are still going on. The stubbornest unbeliever can see it for himself on any passenger train, except a few limited trains on which passes are not accepted. When the conductor makes a notation in his book instead of taking up a ticket or cash fare, he is discriminating. The conditions are intolerable. A "way out" is imperative. The only sure way that presents itself is absolute control by the United States Government—and, if necessary to such control, Government ownership.

Mr. Morton thinks the political results of this would be bad, "the beginning of political chaos." But what about the "political chaos" that railroads make? What Judge or Senator did they not help to elect, or try to defeat? Our Kansas Burton would never have reached the Senate if the Kansas railroads had not put him there. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by changing from railroad control of Government to Government control of railroads. EDWIN TAYLOR.

Edwardsville, Kansas.

Public Lands and Forests in the Philippines

To the Editors of The Outlook:

Since the government of the Philippines is in our hands, we have to face problems of taxation and revenue quite out of our previous experience and differing widely from those we have dealt with at home. Every

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right-thinking American knows that we have to consider first in governing Filipinos what is best for them, not what will enrich a few Americans. There is an active party in this country desirous of securing concessions of land under the plea of "developing the country," but really with the view of putting money in their own pockets. Nearly all the unoccupied lands and all the forests are to-day Government property.

We must remember that the Filipinos are very poor and that the islands cannot bear any great amount of taxation. Another fact to be kept in mind is that direct taxes collected through native tax-gatherers are always oppressive, owing to the dishonesty of these petty officials. We are therefore obliged, as far as possible, to collect all needed revenue by means which do not call for the employment of native tax-gatherers.

In view of these facts, would it not be the best thing for the Philippines and the Filipinos if this great amount of public lands in the islands should be kept unsold? but let, only to actual occupiers, on improving leases for thirty years, renewable then to the holders at revised rates settled by the Government, all improvements being allowed for.

This plan would secure a perpetual income to the Government without directly taxing the people. And it has this great advantage, that as the population increases and the prosperity of the islands augments, the Government revenue will grow steadily. What John Stuart Mill called the "unearned increment of the land" would accrue to the Government and not to the few lucky individuals who might be enriched if they were the absolute possessors of the soil. Moreover, it may well be contended that inasmuch as the existing generation of men have only a life interest in this planet, they should not be allowed to obtain the ownership and thus the control of its wealth after they have passed away.

Are we not all trustees, who have inherited the use of the earth? and are we not in honor and justice bound to hand over to our successors of the next generation our trust unimpaired and if possible improved?

Almost everything we have comes from the labors of our predecessors; should we not, therefore, try to provide for those who follow us? Especially is this true in regard to the forests. Only in America are men allowed to destroy them. For the Philippines we have a chance by wise legislation to preserve and improve the forests, keeping up the supply and growth of the trees; granting permits for tree-cutting only when those asking for this privilege are prepared to plant four trees for each one cut down, as is the law in Germany, which we should do well to establish in the Philippines.

OGDEN E. EDWARDS.

Postal Service Inequities

To the Editors of The Outlook:

I read with unusually keen interest three things in your pages of last week. I began, as I find many readers do, at the close of the number, and read first the last article in the Correspondence Department, "A Comparison of Postal Rates," by my friend Mr. Cowles, Secretary of the Postal Progress League. Then, turning back, the sharp title "Swindling Through the Post-Office," caught my eye. I found, I need not say, this contribution of Mr. Lawrence, Assistant Attorney of the Post-Office Department, extremely interesting. But the reading of these two things together in that way, I must tell you, though late in the evening, near the small hours of the day succeeding, caused a ferment in my thoughts. Really there was something in the mixture which then seemed to work toward an explosion, and has been so working ever since.

Just at this moment I have read also your editorial article, "Postal Fraud Laws." Well, the ferment goes on, and it may be helpful, not to me only, but to others, to let it pop a little—in a thoroughly restrained, amiable sort of fashion. It may conduce to general well-being to do so innocent, so "childlike and bland" a thing as that—all that appears readily available to a mere citizen, however warm, even hot, his interest in matters of public concern. What I aim to do in this note is simply to call the attention of readers of The Outlook to what one must be fairly blind not to be able to read between the lines here, as these three articles named (January 14) are brought close together. The significance of what is so indicated one can scarcely fail in perceiving to be very great, of the highest moment (I say this fermentingly) to all our countrymen. It does not minister to our wholesome pride to know how widespread is the eagerness of the American people to gamble, how ready they are to fall into the trap of lottery schemers, and all that; and it is also a profound satisfaction to know, through Mr. Lawrence's paper and the well-judged comments of the editor, how the petty scoundrels who, by appealing to the small weaknesses and often sore needs of their victims, would through the Post-Office enrich themselves at their expense, are circumvented in their tricks, despite their amazing cunning.

But while it is interesting and instructive to read of that, yet, after all, do we there read the whole of the postal fraud business, or anything like the worst of it? Great as that may be in the aggregate, still, not only in that way but in every other way, is there not something appallingly more fraudulent besetting the entire postal service of the land? Some may be ready to say, "Let the 'suckers' be caught" (*vide* Mr. Lawrence's paper), who yet are more ready to ask, even explosively, "Why should we all be caught, not merely weaklings tricked by sharpers, but the whole people who use the mails? Why, as the Postal Progress League is ready to show, should it, for example, cost in the United States to carry letters and sealed packets, merchandise parcels, and even foreign parcels to the outside world, so

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many times more than it costs in Great Britain, Germany, and other countries? Why, again, should the free delivery rate on a letter eight ounces in weight be to-day sixteen times as great in republican New York as it is in imperial Berlin?" A host of like questions shoot out. A burden is laid upon the whole American people in its mail service (so it appears), compared with which that laid upon themselves by the crowds ready to "take a chance," greedy to get something for nothing, though it were multiplied over and over, were yet a trifle, a mere bagatelle. Why is this? It is a thing to be thought over, and more than mere thought should be given it.

WILLIAM J. SKILLMAN.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Schools in the Far East

To the Editors of The Outlook:

In his valuable paper, published in your issue of December 31, on "American Administration in the Philippine Islands," Mr. Ireland discusses the establishing of common schools there, and the results of what we have done on educational lines in those new possessions. Entertaining the belief that his discussion, however painstaking, is in some respects misleading, I submit the following:

He asserts that "so far from the extent of educational work in the Philippines being extraordinary or unique, as Mr. Taft leaves his readers to infer, there are several British colonies in which the proportion of school enrollment to the total population is higher than it is in the Philippines." He says about 2.3 per cent. of the total population of the islands are attending school, while the percentage of attendance in certain specified British colonies ranges from seven per cent. in Barbados to two per cent. in British Guiana. Without discussing what, at the present rate of progress in the Philippines, the percentage is likely to be after a period of control as prolonged as that of the British on the islands and the mainland of the East, and without now speculating on the results of certain divergences in the systems of administration, I venture to raise the question here whether certain of Mr. Ireland's inferences do not require qualification.

The massacre of the English at Amboyna by the Dutch in 1623 drove the remaining British settlers in the Spice Islands to the Indian mainland, where they founded Madras, and also founded factories at and near Bombay, on the opposite (western) coast, though Bombay was not ceded to the English by the Portuguese, as part of the dowry of Catharine of Braganza, queen of Charles II., until 1661, and was not actually delivered over until 1665. Since that time the extension of British sway in India has gone on, with varying rapidity, down to 1849, when the Punjab, at the extreme northwest, was annexed, and 1886, when Upper Burma, in the extreme northeast, was brought under the same rule; since which time acquisitions have practically ceased. Excluding Upper Burma, her territory, since 1849, has been substantially what it is now; so that she has had a fair opportunity to institute reforms and give improved educational opportunities to the natives for at least fifty-five years. The contrast is obvious: the President's proclamation declaring that peace prevailed in the Christianized parts of the Philippines was promulgated two years ago last July; so that our opportunity has been limited to less than three years, as against fifty-five at least for the British in India—not to insist on the fact, at the moment, that in many parts of that great domain the opportunity had existed for many years before that. Though the Americans are hazarding more, in a liberal extension of political rights in the East, than the British have ever ventured to accord in India, there is, nevertheless, a closer analogy between Philippine conditions and East Indian than between the former and those of the British possessions named by Mr. Ireland. There is a semblance of local self-government in India, in connection with certain municipalities. Mr. Ireland's view concerning the policy of according self-government to tropical peoples suggests a remark of Sir Henry Maine's made in a speech in the Council of the Governor-General on March 11, 1868, expressing surprise that the natives of India should be prepared for municipal government at all; but he did not strongly controvert those members of the Council who claimed to have more intimate knowledge of the subject. As a matter of fact, local self-government has been accorded, in some degree: it is said that in most of the districts in British India local district boards exist, partly representative, for managing local interests; hence the analogy is not very remote between Indian and Philippine conditions in this respect. In 1901–2 the number of such boards is said to have been 764—approximating very closely to the number of municipalities stated by President Schurman to have existed in the Philippines (see his speech delivered early in 1902). There would, therefore, seem to be strong ground for comparing East Indian and Philippine conditions on educational matters, if comparison is to be made at all with any British possession.

And the material for such a comparison must have been as easily accessible to Mr. Ireland as were the data concerning conditions in any of the countries he referred to. Educational conditions in India have been officially declared very recently. A governmental document of March last, a copy of which, printed in Calcutta, lies before me as I write this, gives the total number of pupils in the 105,306 colleges and schools for public instruction in India as 3,887,493; and it is estimated that those in private institutions that do not conform to departmental standards bring the total up to about 4,500,000; while the attendant annual expenses are stated to be £1,300,000—approximately $6,500,000 (pupils and expenditure in the Native States excluded). The population, not including that of the Native States, was in

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1902 about 232,000,000—29 times the population of the Philippines; so that the percentage of school attendance to population in India was approximately 1.9 per cent., as against the 2.3 per cent. with which Mr. Ireland credits the Philippines; and our expenditure of $3,000,000 on less than 8,000,000 population, six-thirteenths as much as that of India on a population twenty-nine times as numerous—twelve to thirteen times as much per capita. So possibly the extent of our educational work in the Philippines may be quite as "extraordinary and unique," notwithstanding Mr. Ireland, as Mr. Taft "leaves his readers to infer."

The Secretary of Public Instruction in the Philippines, in his annual report dated November 15 last, says:

"The number enrolled in proportion to the whole school population is small; yet when it is considered that an average of less than 700 American teachers has brought about this result in two years' time, during part of which cholera ravaged the islands, causing the death of more than 150,000 of the inhabitants, the achievement is not disappointing."

Official documents of the East Indian Government also show a most commendable and anxious solicitude to cope with the serious problem of general education in India; the obstacles they encounter; the means they are taking to surmount them; and I have not written the above with any purpose of criticising that Government; knowing something of its efforts, from its own official documents, I am bound to praise, not criticise. In one important respect the conditions have been different from those with which we were confronted in the Philippines; that is, in India there were vernaculars—Bengali, Urdu, Hindustani, etc.—each the common language of millions; and there was a fine vernacular literature, quite sufficient to afford inspiration for the study of those native tongues and to induce the training of the young in them, as the Government of India insists on doing in the case of pupils who are under the age of thirteen. The existence of so great a work as Elliot's eight volumes of translations, "India as Told by its own Historians," will give an idea of this. But in the Philippines there is no native literature of consequence to inspire study or to make it worth while to teach the vernaculars; while as to Spanish, knowledge of it except by a very few was crude and imperfect when we took possession. This condition would seem to justify our effort to give instruction in English, especially as the islanders seem eager to learn it; while the Government of India feel that conditions in that great dependency are such that it is their duty to supply, to pupils under a certain age, instruction in and by means of the East Indian vernaculars.

The construction of improved highways in India was begun energetically under Sir James Thomason in the Northwest Provinces, and under the rule of Dalhousie, between 1840 and 1850. Much has since been done in the construction of what are called in India "metaled" roads—that is, macadamized—though the great rainfall in certain parts, as up toward Darjeeling, as well as in some parts of the Philippines, renders it difficult to keep the highways in repair. Mr. Ireland comments on a certain lack of enterprise, as he thinks, in road-construction in the Philippines; but, as in the case of education, only a beginning has been possible during the less than three years since a condition of peace in certain parts has been declared.

New York. GEORGE R. BISHOP.

Possum Trot School-House

By Martha Berry

[The Outlook has said before that the pronounced movement in the South in behalf of industrial education is one of the most significant and hopeful things in the remarkable development of the Southern States. Such institutions as Tuskegee, Hampton, Berea, are widely known all over the United States, but there are a number of smaller and more modest schools which nevertheless are doing a useful work themselves in training individual boys and girls, and are exercising a profitable influence in their communities, in the direction of educating the people at large in an appreciation of the dignity and honor of labor. Such a school is the Boys' Industrial School of Rome, Georgia, of which some account was given in the Annual Educational Number of The Outlook last August. This school was started in a very small and modest way by Miss Martha Berry, of Rome, and has grown and is growing steadily and promisingly. Miss Berry is a Georgian, and feels that the Georgian "cracker," so called—a term applied to the white man, woman, boy, and girl of poverty—needs special educational work done for him. The following sketch by Miss Berry gives a vivid picture of the kind of people among whom she is working. We have made some investigation of Miss Berry's work, and commend it at this season of the year to those who wish to share their good fortune with others less fortunate. The school has a board of trustees, and contributions may be sent to the treasurer of the school, who is Mr. John H. Reynolds, President of the First National Bank, Rome, Georgia. Miss Berry will send to anybody interested a copy of a readable illustrated pamphlet entitled "A School that Teaches by Doing," which describes the development of the Possum Trot School-House into the Boys' Industrial School of Rome.—THE EDITORS.]

In the midst of the piny woods, away from railroads and civilization, was an old shell of a house built long before the war. To get to this house you had to cross a small creek called Possum Trot Creek, and it was said that it was so named because the possums were so plentiful in the neighboring woods.

I opened a Sunday-school in this house,

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but it really could not be called a house, because the roof leaked so that it was almost impossible on rainy days to hold any kind of school.

One Sunday at Sunday-school we had a lesson upon peacemakers and upon forgiveness. Knowing that the people had a great many feuds among themselves, and for little things would fall out and live for years without speaking to their neighbors, I tried to make the lesson as impressive as possible, and talked with all the enthusiasm that I could put into it. The next morning I saw a poor woman and a little child coming up our avenue with a large bundle in her arms. I was rather disturbed to have one of the Sunday-school pupils call when I was so busy with my morning's work, but I put everything down to find out what she wanted and let her go. My first question was, "What can I do for you, Mrs. Duncan?" She said, "Wal, I 'lowed that, being as you talked so much and so good about forgiveness, that I'd better forgive Virgil, my husband, and get him to come back and live with me. Ma 'lowed that if I was going to make up with Virgil that I must take my things and leave her house and never come back no more; an' so I jes' put on my best clothes, and then put all of Mary Jane's clothes and the rest of mine in that bag thar, and come along down here to your house to get you to find Virgil for me." As I looked down into this young, girlish face—for she was only seventeen—with pleading brown eyes and a pathetic droop to her thin stooped shoulders, and realized that she had walked seven miles through the piny woods, lugging her baby and her bag of clothing, to reach my home, and saw what faith she had that I would find her husband for her, and in the meantime care for her and her baby, I was rather taken aback, and wondered how I would manage this problem. Upon inquiry I found that her husband was working about ten miles from where we lived, and that I would have to try and get him to come to us by sending a message to him immediately. I was afraid to say that his wife wanted to see him for fear he would not come, so I hired a boy and told him to go and find Virgil and tell him that Miss Berry wanted to see him on very important business as soon as possible, and that she would pay him if he would come immediately.

In the meantime Mrs. Duncan and her fretful baby had to sit in my room for the remainder of the day. Our house was crowded with company, and our cook was very busy preparing an especially nice luncheon for the guests. When dinner-time arrived, I went down and asked her to please let me have some dinner to carry upstairs to my uninvited guests. She is an old negro woman who has been with us for thirty years, and feels as if we all belong to her. She immediately said that she could not fix any meals for poor white folks, and that they could take themselves to some other place if they wanted to be fed. Then, looking at me in the most pitying way, she said, "Law, child, honey, I don't know what to make of you; seems like I raised you up with the balance to associate with quality and let poor white folks alone. If you don't look out, you'll be a-disgracing of yourself and all the res' of our family, which have been notable folks ever since long befo' de war." I did not stop to argue the question with her, but bided my time, and when she was busy in the pantry I immediately filled a plate with bread, potatoes, and some chicken, and slipped upstairs with it to my company.

As the afternoon began to lengthen we both watched anxiously for the coming of Virgil. I was wondering what I could do with this poor young woman, who did not know how to do anything, if he should decide not to come and if he would not take her back.

Just at sundown I saw Virgil coming. He was a very large, tall man, with rather a stupid face, but not an unkind one. As soon as I saw him I had Mrs. Duncan pick up the baby, grab her sack of clothes, and start to meet him. She insisted that I should go with her, but I told her that I could not; that all depended upon her now. She met him about half-way down the lane, and they stood and talked for quite a long time. It was almost dark now, and once he started off as if he were going to leave her, and then my heart sank within me, because I felt that she would be without a home, and without a husband also. But at last he took his baby in one arm and the sack in the other, and Virgil and his wife passed down the lane and out of sight.

The next Sunday, on the way to Possum Trot, some one called to me from a small cabin on the roadside; and who should come down to meet me but Virgil and his wife and the little baby. Virgil looked very happy with the baby in his arms, and said: "Wal, Miss Berry, we-uns jes' fell out 'bout this young un's name. My wife, she wanted to name it Mary Jane, and I wanted to name it Sary Jane, and now we jes' calls it plain Jane; an' if it had not 'a' bin for that thar Sunday-school talk you give at old Possum Trot School-House, I don't b'lieve me and my wife and Jane would ever have come together agin in this 'ere world."

Such was the beginning of the Boys' Industrial School, which has now eighty boy scholars on its rolls, while one hundred applicants have recently been turned away for lack of room.

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